

CLASSIC MAYA COSTUME:
REGIONAL TYPES OF DRESS
VOLUME I

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ABSTRACT

CLASSIC MAYA COSTUME: REGIONAL TYPES OF DRESS

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This study examines the development of regional differences in Classic Maya costume on monuments erected in eastern Mesoamerica. It expands the initial research of Mary Butler (1931:177), who believed that variations in dress among Maya cities stemmed more from local preferences than chronological change. Tatiana Proskouriakoff (1950: 2-3) reached a similar conclusion in her analysis of Classic sculpture, which included a selection of dress motifs. She found few elements indicative of temporal change, since most occur early in the monumental sequence.

The history of Classic Maya costume is viewed here as the migration of dress motifs from region to region, supplemented by revivals of archaic forms. Five regions are recognized: the central Peten lowlands; the northern and western lowlands; the southeast frontier; and the Pacific highlands and coastal slopes. During the Early Classic Period (A.D. 250-474), monuments were erected only

in the Peten. The development of circum-Peten regions, and of regional differences in dress, corresponds to the Middle Classic Period (A.D. 474-671). Regional types decline in the Late Classic (A.D. 671-868), when centers adopted western dress motifs. Further uniformity in dress is apparent in the use of epiclassic and non-Classic traits on the very latest sculptures of the Classic era.

Related topics are covered in the introductory chapter: garment and headdress types; probable materials and techniques of construction; the motives and purposes to dress; and the distinction between public and private forms of costume. Classic monuments portray rulers in elaborate dress, while small objects, especially vases with intimate scenes of upper class life, depict simpler attire. The literature on European dress explains why elaborate costumes are appropriate in public and casual dress in private. The regalia on Classic Maya sculpture should be regarded as the expression or manifestation of an ideology, namely the institution of Maya rulership and all that it implied in the Classic Period.

PREFACE

Many of the ideas expressed in this dissertation are more the product of conversations with professors and colleagues than of books read in libraries. I wish to especially thank George Kubler, who fulfilled his task as advisor by freely giving me his own thoughts, and whose patience never faltered. My esteem for him, as a scholar, professor and friend, has grown continually since we first met over ten years ago. The opportunity to study at Yale University also brought me into contact, either through classes or at conferences, with such Maya specialists as Michael D. Coe, Floyd Lounsbury, Linda Schele, Ian Graham and Tatiana Proskouriakoff. All of these people stimulated my thinking about costume, and thus contributed to the content of the text.

Photographs of Classic sculptures, as well as of portable objects with incised designs, are not desirable sources of information for this kind of study. The textile patterns, ornaments and other details of dress are usually not visible in photographs, and even garments may be obscured by the lighting conditions under which a particular photograph was taken. Line drawings, made in the field under a variety of lighting effects, or using a

selection of photographs, provide greater accuracy for an analysis of costume motifs. Toward that end, a number of Maya scholars contributed their drawings, including Ian Graham, Eric Von Euw, Linda Schele, Peter Mathews, Lin Crocker, William Coe and Merle Greene Robertson. Photographs of clay figurines and polychrome vases were generously given by David Joralemon, Donald Hales and Andre Emmerich, and purchased from Justin Kerr and the Foundation for Latin American Anthropological Research.

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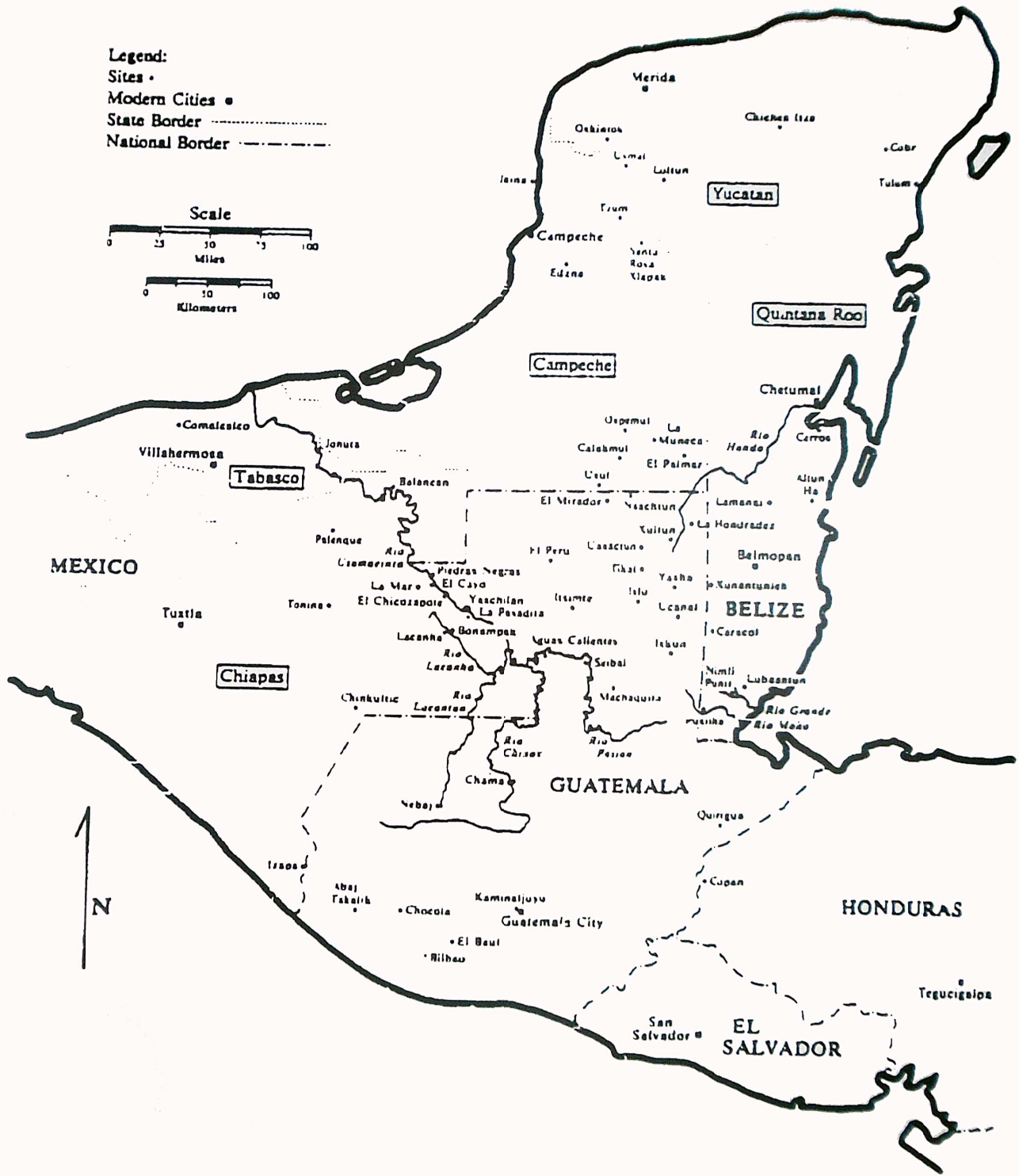
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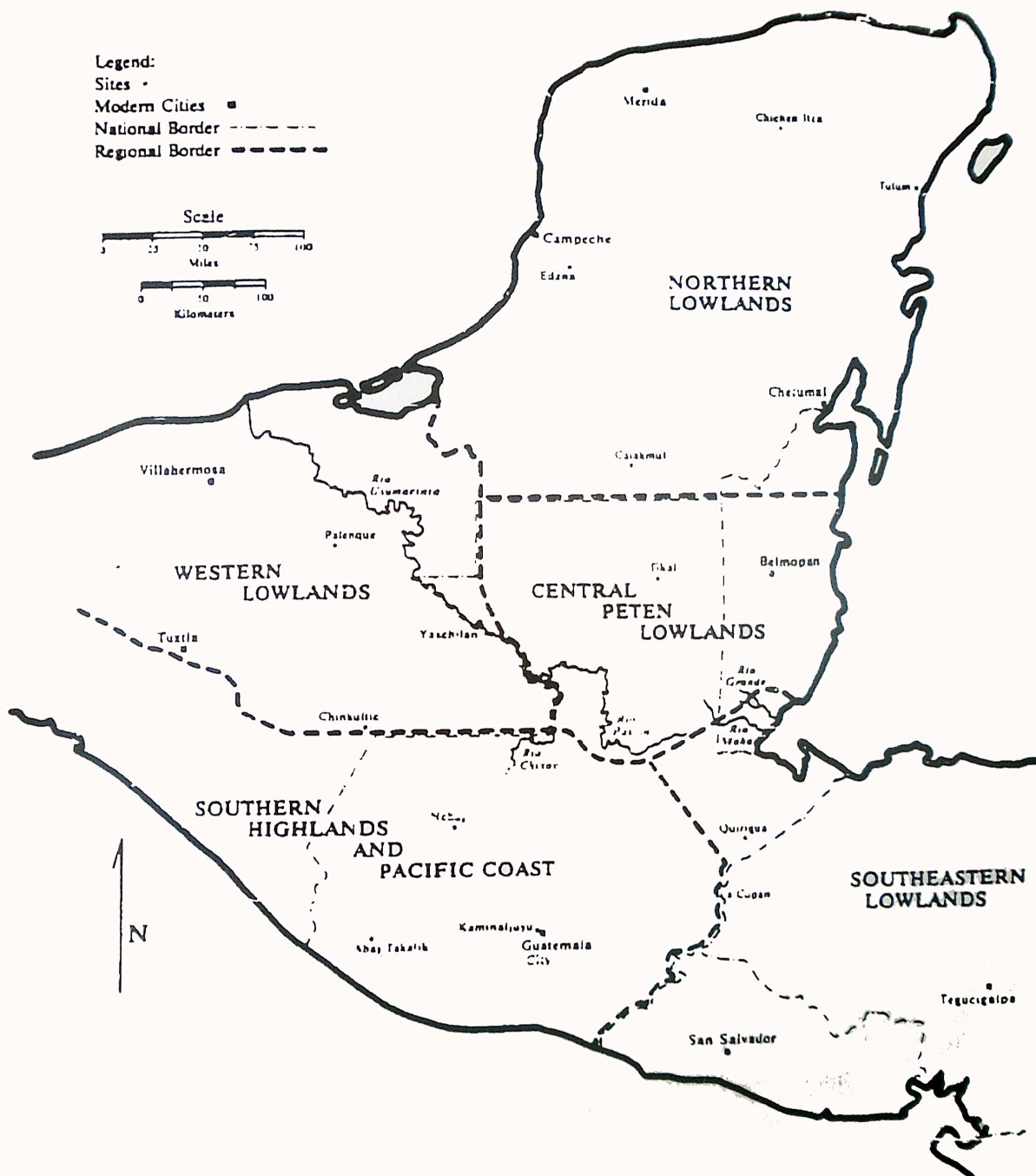
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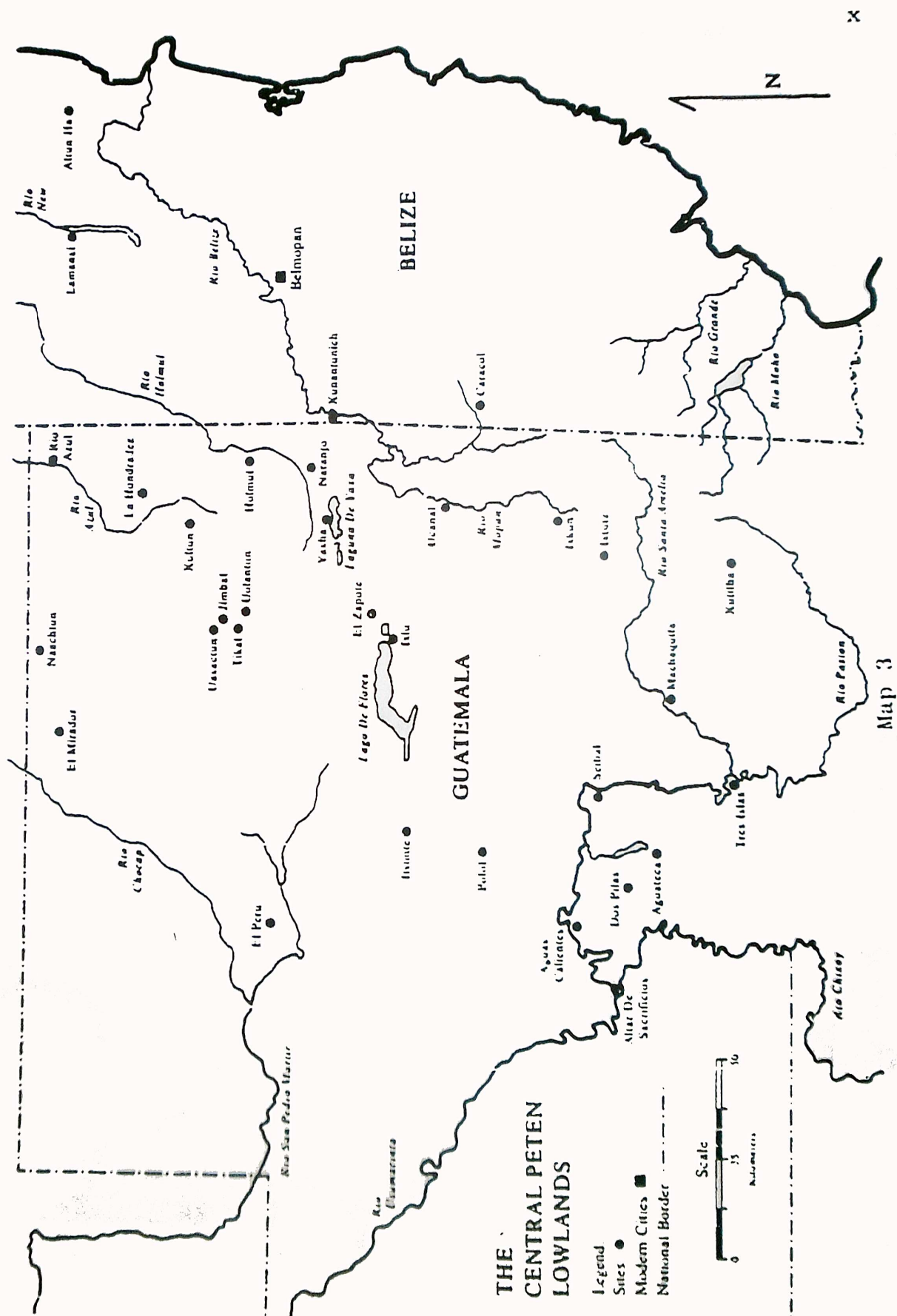
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Introduction

The civilization of the ancient Maya occupied Guatemala, Belize, and parts of Mexico, El Salvador and Honduras during the Classic Period (A.D.250-900). This area roughly corresponds to the eastern half of Mesoamerica, and it is still the home of the Maya today (map, page viii). The Classic Maya built cities around plazas dominated by temple-pyramids; small courtyards, hidden from public view, contained palaces for the upper class, while farmers lived outside the architectural core in perishable dwellings amidst cultivated fields. In the past, it was thought that Maya cities represented an empire (Morley 1946). Since 1960, decipherments of Classic inscriptions on monuments indicate that centers were ruled by dynastic families, and most cities were politically independent. Nonetheless, Classic Maya art reveals shared traits among cities which serve to define regions.

Classic Maya art illustrates the life and activities of the upper class (Kubler 1969:12). Rulers are typically portrayed on free-standing monuments known as stelae, and their glyphic texts document names, titles, ancestors, and the dates of personal events such as birth, accession, marriage, conquests and death. Figural groups on architectural reliefs (lintels and wall panels) and polychrome

vases (Tepeu period) often depict palace gatherings, religious ceremonies, ball games and warfare. Rulers are easy to identify in such scenes, because they occupy the focus of attention, but the status of other persons is usually unclear (Adams 1970:489-490). Finery in attire was certainly important to the Maya, as captives are stripped of their clothing (Spinden 1916:443-444), but many group scenes depict only slight differences in the dress of the ruler and his attendants.

The structure of Classic Maya society, as it is reflected in the art, resembles that of a feudal court or an advanced chiefdom where the hierarchy of activity is never clearly defined. Rulers and their kin relations are at one and the same time members of the nobility, warriors, merchants, priests, athletes, and conceivably artists. The royal court is supported by retainers (musicians, dwarfs, professional soldiers, servants) who may be drawn from the working class, but they become a permanent part of the king's retinue. In Classic Maya art, there is a difference between what I will refer to as simple and formal dress, and particular motifs can be associated with special costumes for the ball game, warfare and deity impersonation: but such distinctions do not represent grades of rank. They are elements of costume worn by all kinds of figures in the art, and presumably, because the upper class was not highly stratified.

I. A Geographic Approach to Classic Maya Costume

This study examines Classic Maya dress through the appearance of regional types of costume in the major and minor arts, including stelae, architectural reliefs, pedestal stones ("altars"), the murals of Uaxactun and Bonampak, and portable objects such as painted and carved vases, figurines and jade plaques. The stelae and pedestals were erected in the open plazas of cities. They typically portray rulers in full regalia, as if dressed for formal, public occasions in front of large crowds. More simple or casual dress is characteristic of the minor arts, while interior palace reliefs and murals present a mixture of simple and formal costumes. It was my intent to use a great many Tepeu (Late Classic) vase paintings for their narrative scenes, but for reasons explained later, they were of little help in determining geographic differences. Some are included in order to discuss simple costumes which probably represent daily attire for the upper class. They occasionally clarify dress motifs on sculptures.

The kind of geographic approach taken here reflects a growing interest in distinctions among cities and regions of the Maya area (maps, pages viii, ix and x), whereas before, authors were justifiably concerned with shared traits that would separate the Classic Maya from other periods and societies in Mesoamerica (Spinden 1913; Proskouriakoff 1950). We now want to know why some cities grew so large that they

became provincial capitals, and to understand the nature of contacts among cities and regions (Haviland 1966; Marcus 1976; Sharer 1978). A number of writers argue for trade as the primary stimulus for relations among centers, because there was an imbalance of resources in the Maya area.

Excavations invariably find imported wares at Maya sites (Rathje 1973; Coggins 1975:I:1-2; Connor 1975; Sheets 1979; Hammond 1982:221-239). It is my belief that trade, more than any other factor, was responsible for the spread of dress motifs, although I would not rule out the possibility of traveling artisans in some instances.

To a certain extent, this study revives ideas on Maya costume proposed by Mary Butler (1931) in an article called "Dress and Decoration of the Maya Old Empire." This was the first attempt to analyze Maya dress. It briefly touches upon themes that became the foundations of my own research. Previously, writers such as Alfred Maudslay (1889-1902), Teobert Maler (1901-1910) and Herbert Spinden (1913, 1916) had been impressed by the variety of costumes in Classic art, but their comments were essentially descriptive, and they were based upon monuments. By including figurines and pottery, Mary Butler (1931:175) perceived a difference between simple dress in the minor arts and the elaborate costumes worn on stelae and other public sculptures. While it was not known at this time that Classic Maya art portrayed historical events and individuals, Butler (ibid) stressed

the use of simple costumes as daily dress and finery for ceremonial, public occasions.

Herbert Spinden (1913:23, 1916:443-444) regarded differences in Maya costumes as a form of portraiture because he had observed that faces on monuments show little variation, yet no two figures are dressed exactly alike. Mary Butler (1931:177) agreed with Spinden, but also suggested that, with more material, many costumes might prove to be merely typical of activities or figural types. We can now recognize a great many dress motifs that characterize simple and formal modes of dress, as well as particular articles for the ball game, for impersonation of the supernatural, for sacrifices, and for warfare (Thompson 1970:68; Benson 1976; Clarkson 1979; Quirarte 1979:137; Adams 1971:68-75). It is through different arrangements and selections of elements that figures are given a sense of individuality.

Another aspect of Classic Maya costume noted by Mary Butler (1931:159) was the use of glyphs and graphic symbols applied to the body as dress. These dress signs, as Butler refers to them, usually appear as hand accessories, and motifs on heavy belts, headdresses and clothing of figures in formal attire. They are particularly characteristic of textile designs on Late Classic sculptures in the Peten and Usumacinta regions. Some dress signs represent personal names, family crests and emblems of office (Proskouriakoff 1961:85; Berlin 1968:143; Thompson 1970:232; Kubler 1969:33-46.

1977:13; M. Robertson 1974). Unfortunately, most cannot be interpreted as written graphemes, and perhaps they were not meant to be, since pictorial symbols have both visual and linguistic significance. I am inclined toward phonetic readings for glyphs, but even this method often fails to elucidate dress signs. I suspect that many such signs were so customary and traditional that their exact meanings had been lost. By way of example, the hemlines of many garments in the western lowlands are decorated with a repeating T-shaped sign (pls. 110, 124, 125, 128, 130 and 213). This element is the glyph for the sacred day Ik in the Maya calendar, meaning "air, wind or life." It was used over a long period of time in the Late Classic (A.D. 671-789), and also appears as a necklace ornament on Jaina figurines. I seriously doubt that textile weavers and clay artisans intended the Ik sign to be literally read as "air or wind." It was simply a traditional motif. I have asked modern Maya weavers in the highlands of Guatemala why they put certain motifs such as trees, zig zags and crosses on garments. They inevitably answer, "This is the way we do it. My mother taught me so." If I could transport myself back to A.D. 750, I think I would hear the same answer from the ancient Maya.¹

¹ I should mention that many geometric and naturalistic motifs on contemporary Maya textiles from Chiapas, Mexico have symbolic meanings (Morris 1979). It is not known, however, if the interpretations presently assigned to such motifs represent survivals of ancient beliefs or symbols derived from modern folklore.

The purpose of Mary Butler's research (1931) was to distinguish among dress motifs that were used throughout the Maya area and those that seemed to be locally confined to particular centers. In a later article, Butler (1937:14) acknowledged that her geographic approach had failed to find real differences in dress, and indeed it does not. The failure of Butler's study was a matter of chance. In 1930, most sculptures, figurines and pottery available to Maya students were late products of the Classic Period after 9.12.0.0.0 (A.D.671). By this time, the development of regional types of dress was ending (Proskouriakoff 1950:123). The 30-year period examined by Mary Butler, 9.12.0.0.0-9.16.0.0.0, exhibits fairly uniform traits. Despite the failure of her investigation, Mary Butler (1931:177) maintained that variations in costume stemmed more from local preferences rather than chronological change.

A more thorough survey of Maya dress motifs was included in A Study of Classic Maya Sculpture by Tatiana Proskouriakoff (1950). Her work attempted to determine chronological changes in the development of figural carving for the Maya area as a whole. Proskouriakoff (1950:2-3) found that few dress motifs are indicative of temporal change, since most occur early in the monumental sequence, but thereafter reflect changes in sculptural carving (figural position, line, movement, attention to detail, perspective and composition), or in other words, changes in the artist's treatment of his

subject over time. Even so, many dress motifs cannot be so analyzed. Proskouriakoff (1950:10-11) had to make a selection of "effective traits."

By graphing the occurrence of "effective traits" on monuments, Proskouriakoff (1950:9-13) was able to divide the Classic Period by phases showing chronological changes in the development of Classic sculpture throughout the Maya area. Each graph plots the rise and fall of a particular motif as it gained and then lost popularity among diverse cities. Graphed traits that peaked at the same time provided dates for separating her various phases (late Baktun 8, early Baktun 9, hiatus, formative, ornate, dynamic, decadent). The same graphs suggested dates for monuments without texts, as well as for those with damaged inscriptions. These "style dates" include a factor of error that reflects the rise and fall of graphed motifs. The majority, 91% according to Proskouriakoff (1950:12), require 40 years on either side of a date (± 2 katuns). Style dates can be remarkably accurate in their agreement with dated texts, but many are not (Proskouriakoff 1950:185-199).

The degree of error in Proskouriakoff's graphs is geographically significant. It indicates that, in every phase, some cities and regions either lag behind other areas or they seem to be more advanced. Proskouriakoff (1950:12-13, 182-184) reached the same conclusion, but the recognition of dissimilar movements was not the focus of her research.

In the final analysis, Proskouriakoff's phases are viable as categories that describe broad developments in Maya sculpture. At the same time, they point to a need for geographic distinctions in the study of costume. Articles of dress may not substantially change during the Classic Period, but they reach cities and regions at different times. The results of Proskouriakoff's research lead directly back to the kind of geographic study proposed by Mary Butler (1931).

The history of Classic Maya costume is best viewed as the migration of dress motifs from city to city, supplemented by periodic revivals of archaic forms. What appear to be "new" elements at a given center can usually be attributed to borrowing rather than local invention. Such an approach was undertaken by Wolfgang Haberland in a dissertation on jewelry (1952). His study was later condensed into an article (Haberland 1953). After reading the dissertation, which Dr. Haberland kindly sent me, I agree with Proskouriakoff (1971: 131-132) that his method suffers from excessive dissection of the material. Haberland draws such fine distinctions that, ultimately, he discusses individual variations in ornament. Yet, even negative evidence is valuable. Haberland's effort calls attention to the fact that, no matter how strict the dress codes of a society, costumes reflect personal tastes.

A geographic study of Classic Maya costume requires chronological phases; otherwise, it would be impossible to

see regional differences in dress at a given point in time, but such divisions have to be internally provided by the appearance and decline of regional types of dress. All of the monuments now known from the beginning of the Classic Period were erected in the central Peten lowlands of Guatemala. The growth of regions outside the Peten begins around 9.2.0.0.0 (A.D.474) with sculptures from Copan and Quirigua, and continues at a rapid pace until 9.13.0.0.0 (A.D.691) in the northern and western lowlands. After this date, regional peculiarities remain, but there is an exchange of motifs among regions that creates a period of uniformity from approximately 9.13.0.0.0 to 9.18.0.0.0 (Proskouriakoff 1950:123-124). These phases roughly correspond to Early, Middle and Late divisions of the Classic Period, as they have been proposed by recent authors (Parsons 1969:II:157-169; Pasztory 1978; Coggins 1979:38), but the coincidence here is accidental. I will use the terminology because it is more convenient than Maya notation.

It is customary to end the Classic Period with the latest dates on stelae around 10.2.0.0.0 (A.D.868), but traditional forms of Classic dress ceased to exist around 9.18.0.0.0 (A.D.799). After this date, many cities were abandoned or had stopped erecting stelae. Among those remaining, the sculptures include "non-Classic" traits of Mexican origin (Proskouriakoff 1950:152-153 and 164; J. Graham 1973:213-214; Thompson 1970:41-42; Sabloff 1973:

125-126). The Maya were always receptive to foreign influences, but they were overwhelmed by intrusive elements toward the close of the Classic Period. In addition to non-Classic features, the monuments tend to distort and simplify traditional motifs. It is no longer correct to regard such changes as decadent or degenerate, as Proskouriakoff did (1950), because they occur on the recently discovered murals of Cacaxtla in central Mexico, as well as in the Toltec-Maya art of Chichen Itza in Yucatan. The terminal phase of the Classic Period, 9.18.0.0.0 to 10.2.0.0.0 (A.D.789-868) ought to be considered as a prelude to the Postclassic, just as I have taken the art of the Late Preclassic as introductory to the Early Classic in the Peten.

CHAPTER ONE: THE VOCABULARY OF MAYA COSTUME

I. Public and Private Dress

The literature on costume largely concerns Europe, but many of the ideas have universal appeal. Most societies, for example, object to nudity, even though body paint may be the only form of dress (Rudofsky 1971:134). Similarly, writers agree that display is the primary incentive to dress (Hurlock 1929:19-26; Flugel 1930:20-24; Laver 1969b: 23-25, 29; Dorner 1974:9; Squire 1974:13-19). If convenience and protection were more significant, the concept of fashion would not exist (Crawley 1912:40-42; Boucher 1965: 9-11). Practical interests have been ignored or thwarted around the world by the use of expensive clothing, constricting garments, elaborate headgear and hand accessories.

There are various ways in which display can be achieved. An obvious method is to load the body with valuable jewelry and layers of expensive clothing. The clothing can be further emphasized by slashing or gathering outer layers to reveal decorated undergarments (Kohler 1928:42; Dorner 1974: 14). Another means of display is to restrict the movement of the body with ornate hairstyles or headgear, hand accessories, and flaring or very narrow garments (Hurlock 1929:227; Dorner 1974:36-38). Lastly, the body itself can be altered through cosmetics, obesity or thinness, and the

reshaping of bone structure (Flugel 1930:39-42; Rudofsky 1971:29-38).

Display in dress has always been most important for public occasions. It is less necessary when members of the same class or family meet in private, but among mixed groups, lavish dress projects social status, activities and sexual gender (Kemper 1977:7-14; Flugel 1930:31, 56; Laver 1969b:11). Thus, ornate costumes typically appear in public, while simpler more casual dress is worn at home. In the history of European costume, public display was essential to the dress of the aristocracy until the nineteenth century (Dorner 1974:9; Hurlock 1929:7). Ornate costumes were designed to impress the status of the upper class upon the uneducated and poor (Bell 1976:30). Public dress was contrived, or in other words, without reference to the needs, comfort or movement of the human body (Sennett 1977:92). Costume for the home was simpler, and by the eighteenth century, actually comfortable (Squire 1974:108-110).

A series of changes have mitigated the effects of display in western European dress since 1800 (Moore 1971:31). Most important, the rise of a middle class created an affluent public, and at times, the middle class was wealthier than the fading monarchies of Europe (Bell 1976:30). As it became necessary to the aristocracy to work, ornate incapacitating costumes traditionally worn at court were replaced by more casual albeit expensive attire (Dorner

1974:32). Finally, mechanical inventions such as the sewing machine began to mass produce aristocratic fashions at low cost (Kemper 1977:135-36).

Public dress today may be more comfortable and less ornate than the courtly fashions of Europe, but a separation is still made between public and private forms of dress. Elaborate costumes are more appropriate for public activities, including work, while simpler dress is found at home. Moreover, the twentieth century has provided unparalleled opportunities for improving on nature (Kemper 1977:14-15). In addition to starvation diets and health programs, the present quest for eternal youth encourages drastic procedures in cosmetic surgery, some of which make previous attempts to transform the body seem crude. In summary, the need for display continues to govern our public and private appearance.

Maya art makes a similar distinction between public and private dress. Monumental stelae and other sculptures usually portray figures in elaborate costumes (pls. 128 and 213). These monuments decorated the public plazas of Classic cities, and most are commemorative portraits of rulers. The ornate costumes presumably represent such persons as they would have appeared before large crowds or for important public occasions. Simpler dress is typically found in the minor arts, and especially on Tepeu vase paintings that seem to depict scenes of upper class life

(pls. 267 and 268). Thus, as a general rule, public monuments display lavish attire, while private possessions from the minor arts - carved ornaments, figurines and vases - illustrate simpler dress.

Public dress in Maya art reflects techniques for display as they have been analyzed in the literature on costume. It is on monuments that the greatest quantity of jewelry appears, in the form of heavy beaded collarpieces, earrings, wide bracelets and leg bands (pls. 131, 214 and 236); layered clothing, including expensive garments of jade beads, jaguar skin, woven textiles and featherwork (pls. 110, 141-142 and 215); cumbersome elements such as hand accessories and feather devices attached to the back of the belt (pls. 128 and 193); and complex headgear using tiers of masks with glyphic signs, knots and feathers (pls. 126, 128 and 213). Simpler attire in the minor arts is more a matter of degree than differences in articles of dress. There are, for example, fewer layers of clothing, and jewelry tends to consist of single strands of beads (pls. 267, 268, 270, 272-298). Certain features, however, are characteristic of the minor arts and rarely appear on public monuments such as soft turbans and headbands (pls. 268, 270, 275-276, and 298-299). Lastly, the deformed forehead is ubiquitous in both the major and minor arts (pls. 110, 147 and 267). More personal traits such as cosmetic body paint and scarification patterns are shown on ceramics and figurines. Judging from a number

of figures on monuments as well as vase paintings, corpulence was a desirable state for members of the upper class (pls. 109, 121, 145, 267 and 269).

Display in public dress is a method of concealing the body. All of the various techniques - layers of expensive clothing, ornate jewelry, headgear, hand accessories and cosmetic deformations - obscure the natural shape with symbols. In other words, dress for public display is based upon the "principle of the body as a mannequin" (Sennett 1977:71). The focus of attention is the costume rather than the person. Although this idea is discussed by Richard Sennett (*ibid*) with regard to European dress before 1800, it may be equally applied to figures on Classic Maya sculptures. In fact, Herbert Spinden (1913:23) initially suggested that, in lieu of true portraiture, Classic monuments expressed individuality in terms of dress and ornament.

Herbert Spinden (1916) further investigated the subject of portraiture on Classic sculptures, and concluded that, although cities have distinct facial types, there were few if any examples of portraiture. George Kubler (1969:15-16) also recognized facial types, as well as conventions that are sometimes used to indicate differences in age or expression. A late tradition of physiognomic portraiture possibly emerged in the western lowlands along the Usumacinta River (Spinden 1916; Griffin 1976), but for the most part, the figures on Classic stelae approach the stereotype.

Even sexual traits are suppressed. The many women on Maya sculptures are identifiable only by their garments or female glyphs in associated texts (Proskouriakoff 1961).

The tendency to conventionalize the human figure on Classic monuments underscores the importance of costume for public display. Correspondingly, simpler dress in the minor arts is accompanied by more individual traits such as facial scarification patterns and hairstyles. Campeche figurines, for example, portray women with long hair (M. Miller 1975:Fig. 7), and similar hairstyles occur on Tepeu vases (pls. 270 and 271). Similarly, the female sex is often emphasized in the minor arts by exaggerated breasts (pl. 272). Although such portrayals approach caricature, they establish a relation between private simple dress and personalized features.

II. Materials and Techniques of Construction

The Classic Maya assembled many articles of dress from different materials such as plaited fibers, precious green stones, shells, woven cloths, animal hides, feathers, and almost certainly, light woods. This kind of assemblage construction, in which materials were knotted, sewn or glued together, seems to have been typical of headdresses, belts, footgear and jewelry. Even woven garments were apparently often finished with paint, featherwork or ornaments. Although little has survived the tropical

climate of the lowlands, much can be inferred about the materials and techniques for dress by looking at costumes in Maya art. More information is provided by the jewelry, textile fragments and cloth impressions recovered from tombs and caches.

A. Clothing

Most garments worn by the Classic Maya represent two categories of manufacture: 1) knotted garments made from strips and squares of fabrics or hides that were wrapped and tied around the body; 2) slip-on garments made from woven cloths that were sewn together and slipped over the head with holes left for the neck and arms. The only examples of fitted garments, which are characteristic of European and American dress, are the animal costumes worn by deity impersonators. Common articles of clothing are discussed below in alphabetical order. I have used English terms for these articles whenever possible, in accordance with the research of other authors on Mesoamerican costume (Cordry and Cordry 1968; Anawalt 1975; W. Miller 1981). The various elements of Classic Maya costume are accompanied by figural drawings in this section, and by occasional references to plates at the end of the text.

ANIMAL SKINS - Jaguar and possibly deer hides are occasionally tied around the waist and hang down the back of male figures (pls. 138, 279 and 295).

BACK DEVICE - An object, usually a mask with featherwork or other ornaments, tied to the back of the chest or belt. Back devices are worn only by men, and occur with equal frequency on monuments and late vase paintings (pls. 101, 116, 137, 190, 193, 195, 229, 233, 274 and 287).

BODY SUIT - Figures dressed as deities often wear fitted suits representing animal skins. Body suits are common on late vase paintings (fig. 1).

BODY WRAP - A single piece of cloth wrapped around the body and tied under the arm (fig. 2). The body wrap was a feminine garment that primarily appears on vases (pls. 272, 286 and 292). A variant form, again found on late ceramics (M. Coe 1973:Cat. No. 42), shows the end of the wrap thrown over one shoulder instead of knotted under the arm.

CAPE - Short or long capes are usually worn by men in Classic Maya art. They were made of textile cloth, feathers or animal skins (fig. 3a and b). The cape was an essential article of masculine dress among the Yucatec Maya at the time of the Conquest (Tozzer 1941:89). It is not typical of Classic art, but occurs on late monuments, usually from the western lowlands, late vase paintings and Jaina figurines (pls. 131, 137-138, 140, 168, 175 and 257).

CHEST SASH - Maya women occasionally wear a costume that combines a long skirt with a strip of cloth wrapped around

the chest (fig. 4). The chest sash was first identified by Proskouriakoff (1961:85) on Lintel 1 from Piedras Negras. It also occurs at Palenque (pl. 121), as well as on at least one vase painting (fig. 4). This garment is quite rare in Classic Maya art.

FRONTAL MANTLE - A long cape of cloth or featherwork that hangs in front of the body and was tied at the back of the neck (pls. 273 and 274). In addition to these examples from vase paintings, the frontal mantle is found on monuments at Piedras Negras (Stelae 7 and 9); Naranjo, Stela 11 (pl. 216); and at Tikal on Lintel 3 from Temple IV (pl. 199). The frontal mantle is worn by men dressed as warriors.

HIP-CLOTH - A strip of cloth or jaguar skin that was tied around the hips (figs. 5 and 6). The hip-cloth was worn exclusively by men, and usually obscures the loincloth, which was an essential undergarment of masculine dress (pls. 298 and 299). Proskouriakoff (1950) refers to the hip-cloth as a "short skirt", but this is misleading. A skirt is a garment with an even hemline. Some Maya hip-cloths have straight borders resembling skirts (pls. 62, 67 and 71). More often, however, the hip-cloth was tied so that the garment falls unevenly over the thighs and clings around the buttocks (pls. 12, 43, 51, 76, 97, 121, 131, 140, 167, 278, and 283).

HUIPIL - A slip-on garment for women made from two pieces of cloth that were sewn together with holes left for the neck and arms (fig. 7a and b). The huipil was usually, although not always, worn over a long skirt. It is characteristic of feminine dress among Maya and Mexican groups today. In Classic times, the huipil is typically found in the minor arts, and especially on vase paintings (pls. 271, 275, 285, 288-289, 293-294). On monuments, it occurs in the western and northern lowlands (pls. 88, 91, 93, 108-109, 124, 145, 154 and 156). The term huipil comes from the Nahuatl language of the Aztec. There is no equivalent word in Maya (Barrera Vasquez 1980).

LOINCLOTH - An essential article of masculine dress but one that is usually hidden by the hip-cloth (figs. 3 and 9). The loincloth was a long strip pulled up between the legs and tied around the waist such that the ends fell as sashes in front and back of the legs (fig. 10b), although sometimes both ends appear in frontal view (fig. 10a). On monuments, the ends of the loincloth or the front panel only are decorated with glyphs or textile designs (pls. 121 and 167). Simpler designs occur on vase paintings (pls. 278 and 282). Decorated loincloths were characteristic of Yucatec Maya dress at the time of the Conquest (Tozzer 1941:89).

MUFFLER - A scarf worn by deity impersonators and warriors

(fig. 1). On some monuments this scarf appears to have been made out of plaited fibers or quilted cotton (pls. 141 and 142).

QUEXQUEMITL - A slip-on shoulderpiece for women made from two pieces of woven cloth (fig. 11 and pl. 298). The quexquemitl is worn with a long skirt, and both garments are usually covered with matching layers of beadwork.

Beaded skirts and quexquemitli primarily appear on monuments (pls. 46, 97, 223 and 228). The term quexquemitl also comes from Nahuatl, and has no equivalent in Maya (Barrera Vasquez 1980).

SHOULDERPIECE - The masculine version of the quexquemitl (fig. 12). It usually serves as a soft backing for a large beaded collar (pls. 47, 67 and 94).

SKIRT - A long piece of cloth fastened at the waist (fig. 13). The skirt was essential to feminine dress, and was combined with different coverings for the upper torso (huipil, quexquemitl, chest sash and short cape).

TUNIC - A slip-on chest garment for warriors (pls. 141 and 163).

There are good reasons to believe that the techniques of weaving in the Maya area have remained essentially unchanged from ancient to modern times (O'Neale 1945:1). Women still weave on the same type of hip-loom known from Classic figurines (Delgado 1968), and basic foundation or

ground weaves that are now used in the Guatemalan highlands (canvas, gauze, leno, twill, plain and basket) are represented on textile fragments and cloth impressions from Classic sites (Kidder 1947:70; W. Coe 1959:74; Osborne 1965:14-15; Pendergast 1969:22-23). Today, and even more so in the past, woven garments are strips and squares of cloth either draped around the figure or two pieces are sewn together and pulled over the head. Although these fabrics are not true garments by European standards, since they are not tailored to the shape of the body, every Maya textile has a specific purpose that is determined by the length and width of the cloth.

The simplest garments in Classic Maya art are found at the beginning of the Classic Period. At this time, hip-cloths and long skirts were undecorated save for a beaded fringe around the hemline (pls. 12, 23-24 and 31). In the highlands today, textiles are cut directly off the loom, leaving a fringe of loose strings from the warp or weft, and they are tied in decorative knots to prevent the cloth from unraveling (O'Neale 1945:149). The beaded fringes on Early Classic garments may have served the same purpose, and they suggest that foundation weaves are represented in the art. Jaguar skin hip-cloths were similarly finished with beads, no doubt to prevent the edges of the hide from fraying (pls. 13 and 14). Later textile garments such as the huipil and quexquemiltl also have decorated fringes which

indicate where the cloths were cut from the loom (pls. 97, 109, 124 and 145).

The huipil and quexquemitl are still worn by contemporary groups, and their construction has probably changed little since Classic times (O'Neale 1945:108; Cordry and Cordry 1968:82-85). Mistakenly called a robe, mantle or long cape by many writers, the huipil was a slip-on garment worn by Classic Maya women. The huipil used today by modern women is made from two or three squares of cloth that are sewn together with openings left for the head and arms. Among contemporary highland Maya groups, it is usually worn short, as a shirt, and combined with a long skirt (O'Neale 1945:111). In modern Mexico, the huipil has short and long forms, but even at longer lengths, it is worn with a skirt (Cordry and Cordry 1968:62-63). In Classic Maya art, the huipil is always long, and always has an underskirt (pls. 124 and 126).

Proskouriakoff (1961:91 and 94) and other authors incorrectly refer to the quexquemitl as a short cape. The quexquemitl was another slip-on garment for women made from two pieces of cloth that were sewn together with a hole left for the head (fig. 12). It is quite different in appearance from the short cape that is infrequently worn by Classic women (pls. 64 and 220). In Mexico today, the quexquemitl is constructed from two woven squares. The garment is worn with the pointed ends of the squares draped

over the sides of the shoulders, or, in a more common version known as the triangular quexquemitl, the points fall in front and back of the chest (Cordry and Cordry 1968:85). Triangular quexquemitli are shown on some Late Classic figurines from Campeche (Corson 1976:Figs. 26a, c and 27a, c and d)). The quexquemitl characteristic of Classic sculptures has curved edges around the neckline and lower border (pls. 97, 110, 223 and 228). This type of quexquemitl has to be woven in a round technique by curving the points on the loom (Cordry and Cordry 1968:82-84).

A significant difference between ancient and modern weaving among the Maya is the use of patterns. Modern weavers create intricate designs by introducing yarns of different colors into the ground weave of the loom through techniques called brocade and tapestry (O'Neale 1945:58, 72; Wood and Osborne 1966:7). Such patterns do not appear on Classic textiles until after 9.10.0.0.0 (A.D.632), and then, primarily along the Usumacinta River in the western lowlands (Piedras Negras, Yaxchilan, Bonampak).

Most textile fragments and cloth impressions from Classic Maya sites represent undecorated foundation weaves (Osborne 1965:14-15; Pendergast 1969:22-23). Similarly, plain textiles in Classic art presumably represent ground weaves. Most examples are prior to A.D. 632 (pls. 12, 23 and 62). The beaded fringes on these garments were apparently the primary form of decorating textiles in early

times. In addition, the feminine quexquemiltl and skirt were worn under separate layers of tubular and round beads (pls. 91 and 97).

After 9.10.0.0.0 (A.D. 632) Classic Maya weaving is comparable to the skills of contemporary weavers in the creation of patterns using complex techniques; but, as mentioned earlier, textile designs largely occur on monuments in the western lowlands. The designs on Usumacinta sculptures are unquestionably different from those found today, yet they seem to have been woven with the same techniques (brocade and tapestry). Stela 33 from Piedras Negras, dated 9.10.15.0.0 (A.D. 646), probably represents tapestry weaving (Mahler 1965:586). It includes tau (Ik) glyphs, cross-hatched triangles, and a repeated sky band motif along the edges of the garment (pl. 108). I gather from Joy Mahler's research (1965) that large designs on later monuments such as diamonds or squares at Yaxchilan (pls. 145 and 156), and quatrefoil motifs at many western centers (pls. 109, 121, 154 and 167) should be regarded as brocaded patterns, with borders of tau signs and sky band symbols in tapestry. Similar textiles also appear on figurines from Jaina and other western centers in the Gulf Coast area (Mahler 1965: 591).

Textile fragments from Chiptic Cave in Chiapas (Johnson 1954) further reveal that Classic Maya garments were decorated with paint. Among the preserved samples, two

show geometric and naturalistic motifs in a variety of colors (blue, black, yellow, red and purple) against brown and tan backgrounds. A third fragment represents a resist pattern of dragon heads in white against a brownish background. It is the only example of resist decoration in the Maya area for the Classic Period (Johnson 1954:144). A curious feature of all three fragments is that, on each cloth, the motifs and backgrounds were hand painted. It would have been much easier to dip these fabrics into dye baths, and then paint directly onto the cloth or peel off designs reserved in wax. The Chiptic fragments were entirely brush painted (Johnson 1954).

On the basis of the Chiptic fragments, I would suggest that hand painted textiles appear on polychrome ceramics after 9.6.0.0.0 (A.D. 553) in the Tepeu sequence. I realize that the ceramics themselves were painted, but even given the cursive tendencies of the vase painter's brush, the textile motifs are too irregular and large for weaving, while embroidery lends itself to small, intricate work. On Tepeu vases, colored motifs on white backgrounds probably represent hand painting over ground weaves, including blotches of color (pls. 280 and 281); lines and circles (pls. 282-283 and 287); networks of slanted lines (pl. 275); bold cartouches (pls. 284-286 and 288); and reptilian heads (pl. 271). The reverse - white designs against dark backgrounds - indicate a resist technique in which motifs were

painted on ground weaves with wax and were thus able to resist the application of background colors (pls. 270 (skirt), 272, 276 and 289-294). By way of contrast, the regularity and attention to detail in the pattern of the frontal mantle on the Initial Series vase from Uaxactun suggests a woven design rather than hand painting (pl. 274).²

In summary, most textiles in Classic Maya art were apparently foundation weaves decorated with other materials (ornaments, feathers and paint). There are, in addition, many examples of men wearing animal skins. The ability to weave patterns was a late development, after 9.10.0.0.0 (A.D. 632), and one that became a speciality of the western lowlands. However, the importance of woven cloth should not be underestimated for the Classic Maya. Strips and bundles of decorated textiles are carried on Tepeu vases (pls. 162, 281, 283 and 295); and there is good evidence that members of the upper class were buried with shrouds and bundles of cloth (Kidder et al. 1946:98; Pendergast 1969: 22; Benson 1976).

B. Jewelry

Far less can be said concerning the materials and techniques for accessories such as jewelry, sandals, belts

² Similar techniques of decorating garments are visible on the murals of Bonampak, where some textiles depict woven designs and others hand painted, or perhaps tie-dyed motifs (M. Miller 1981:51-61).

and hand held objects. The combined evidence from representations of these articles and artifacts found in tombs indicates that accessories were made from a variety of materials. Unfortunately, few of the materials can be securely identified in Classic Maya art. I can discuss only their probable construction on the basis of objects found in burials.

The Maya wore earrings, necklaces and other jeweled ligatures around the arms, neck and legs. Some ornaments have characteristic forms, such as Spondylus shell bracelets (pl. 104) or necklaces (pl. 131), and necklaces of jaguar teeth (pl. 261). Most ornaments are represented as round, tubular and rectangular beads (pls. 107 and 121). It is known from burials that many beads were made of jade, but they were also rendered in related greenstones, clay, bone, shell and pearl (Merwin and Vaillant 1932:86-90; Kidder et al. 1946:125, 145-155; Kidder 1947:43-49, 57-65, 68; W. Coe 1959:44-73; Ruz Lhuillier 1973:152-200). In addition, Maya art depicts perishable ornaments. During the Early Classic Period, for example, ligatures for the arms and legs are typically represented as cloth or leather knots combined with beads (pls. 12, 20, 24, 26 and 45). Later wristlet beads were often sewn onto a leather or cloth cuff (pls. 145, 168 and 173). Jaguar skin leggings appear at Palenque (pl. 116).

C. Belts

The heavy ceremonial belts worn on Classic monuments were probably made of wood, because they supported ornaments such as borders of disks or rectangular plaques, maskettes with suspended tinklers, apron panels, and back devices of masks and feathers (pls. 12, 16, 37, 43, 71, 76 and 92). The ruler of Palenque was buried with such a belt, but all that has survived are three stone maskettes and tinklers found at the waist of the skeleton (Ruz Lhuillier 1973:Fig. 185). Shell tinklers were excavated at Piedras Negras, Seibal and Kaminaljuyu, and there is a probable belt mask of clay from Seibal (Kidder et al. 1946:Fig. 164d-g; W. Coe 1959: Fig. 52s-t; Willey et al. 1978:Figs. 58 and 161).

D. Sandals

Representations of sandals in Maya art suggest that they were made entirely of perishable materials. The sole or base of the sandal was probably of leather or plaited fibers; the ankle guard is sometimes shown as jaguar skin (pls. 115 and 145). Many sandals after 9.12.0.0.0 (A.D. 671) have a feathered tassel over the instep of the foot (pls. 106, 194).

E. Hand Accessories

Many figures in Maya art carry one or more hand accessories. Unfortunately, most of the objects appear to have been perishable, including feather wands and fans (pl. 163).

woven baskets (pls. 137 and 145), headdresses of twilled fibers (pl. 121), and staffs made of wood and knotted fibers (pls. 160 and 168). The visual evidence is further supported by offerings placed in tombs. At Kaminaljuyu, almost every burial contained small piles of painted stucco that originally covered perishable accessories, including a feather fan, a wooden mask and flat trays of woven fibers or animal hide (Kidder et al. 1946:100-102). Similar areas of stucco work in tombs from Altun Ha are thought to have been decorated trays or woven mats and wooden bowls (Pendergast 1969:24-33). Stucco fragments from probable wooden bowls were also found at Tikal (Coggins 1975:II:Fig. 67), as well as portable wooden and stuccoed figures representing the deity God K (W. Coe 1967:57). The use of wood and stucco for such accessories is not surprising. It is known from the Late Classic lintels of Tikal that the Maya were highly skilled at carving wood, and at many centers, stucco was freely applied as a decorative coating on ceramics and building facades. Thus, on the basis of the archaeological evidence, it is not unreasonable to imagine many hand accessories - staffs, shields, deity scepters, ceremonial bars, fans, bowls - as objects carved from wood and decorated with polychrome stucco.

F. Head Dress

A clear distinction can be drawn between public formal head gear, such as that typically shown on monuments, and

casual head dress for private occasions. Formal head gear has basic components - a dragon or feline mask and feather plumes - but many other elements were added (Proskouriakoff 1950:50-52). It was, parenthetically, in looking at the number of separate motifs in these headdresses that I first perceived the importance of assemblage construction in Maya costumes (pls. 126,155,215,218 and 228). Casual head dress used fewer ornaments, cloth or fiber turbans, headbands, and often reveals hair, which is rarely shown under elaborate headgear (pls. 275-276,279-285 and 288-291).

At the beginning of the Classic Period (A.D. 250-435), most headdresses are very elaborate. Tied knots were used to bind together individual motifs such as earrings, chin maskettes and forehead diadems (pls. 12,17,20-21,33,43 and 94). Later, after 9.2.0.0.0 (A.D. 435), these knots are seldom shown. They were either hidden behind ornaments or replaced by organic glues (pls. 97,126,155 and 160). Casual headdresses were, from early times onward, created with knotted turbans, headbands, ribbons and secondary attached ornaments (pls. 100-101,279 and 280-283).

Again, as in the case of so many materials in Maya costume, few head dress elements have survived. In rare instances, tomb excavations have discovered stucco casings over rotted matter, presumably wood, and in both instances, the objects are thought to have been headdresses (Kidder et al. 1946:100; Pendergast 1969:24-25). A set of jaguar

jaws found at Kaminaljuyu was also probably attached to a perishable wooden mask (Kidder et al. 1946:155). Another pair of jaguar jaws from Kaminaljuyu was associated with two spheres of pyrite which probably served as eyes for a wooden mask (Kidder ibid:134).³ Such discoveries suggest that headdress masks were typically made of wood, combined with animal teeth, jeweled eyes and polychrome stucco.

Burials yield good evidence for jewelry as elements of headgear. Rows of perforated disks over skulls at Palenque and Piedras Negras were undoubtedly sewn onto cloth or hide backings (Ruz Lhuillier 1973:190). Similar headbands, but having laminae of pyrite and crystalline hematite, are also known from tombs at Piedras Negras and Altun Ha (W. Coe 1959:43; Pendergast 1969:16). Such examples are the remains of beaded headbands worn by many figures on monuments, where they occur alone (pl. 121) or underneath more elaborate headgear (pls. 122, 125 and 157). Jeweled headbands often have a diadem maskette representing a deity known as the Jester God after his foliated cap (Schele 1974:42). Jade diadems of the Jester God, carved on both sides and perforated along the inner edges for sewing onto headdresses, were found at Tonina and Palenque (Easby 1961; Ruz Lhuillier

³ The several pairs of jaguar jaws found at Kaminaljuyu were all associated with yellowish lumps, which in this one example were identifiable as pyrite spheres. Thus, all of the masks probably had pyrite eyes (Kidder et al. 1946:134).

1973:Fig. 218). These diadems correspond to those shown on headbands in Maya art (pls. 110 and 141, left figure). Lastly, wide jade tubes used as hair separators were found in tombs at Palenque (Ruz Lhuillier 1973:191). They can be seen on monuments at Palenque and Yaxchilan (pls. 121 and 141).

G. Summary: Materials and Techniques

Comparisons among motifs visible in Maya art and archaeological discoveries help substantiate several ideas about the materials and techniques for dress. One becomes, for example, acutely aware of how much has been lost by looking at the wealth and variety of illustrated motifs and the dearth of their archaeological remains.

Many costume elements were apparently made of perishable materials, of which we can observe articles of woven cloth, feathers and twilled basketry. What remains in tombs are rotted fabrics, traces of featherwork, and stucco casings with striated impressions of plaited fibers, animal hides and wooden matter. Nonetheless, the surviving evidence indicates that stucco and wood were important materials for dress motifs, and particularly for hand accessories and head gear.

The ornaments found in burials, including jade, shell, bone, pyrite, hematite and other semi-precious stones, support the concept of assemblage construction for Maya costumes. Apart from their use as jewelry (earrings,

necklaces, ligatures), ornaments were sewn or glued onto perishable backings as parts of belts, sandals, hand accessories, headdresses and clothing. Although little remains of other materials, the rotted matter found in tombs suggests that many articles of dress combined ornaments with woven cloth or animal hide, wood, plaited fibers, feathers and polychrome stucco. The archaeological evidence for such combinations of materials is best demonstrated through discoveries of belt and head ornaments on skeletons, and stucco casings in tombs which probably decorated perishable hand accessories and headdresses.



fig.1 Deity Impersonator
with Jaguar Skin
Costume and Cloth
Scarf

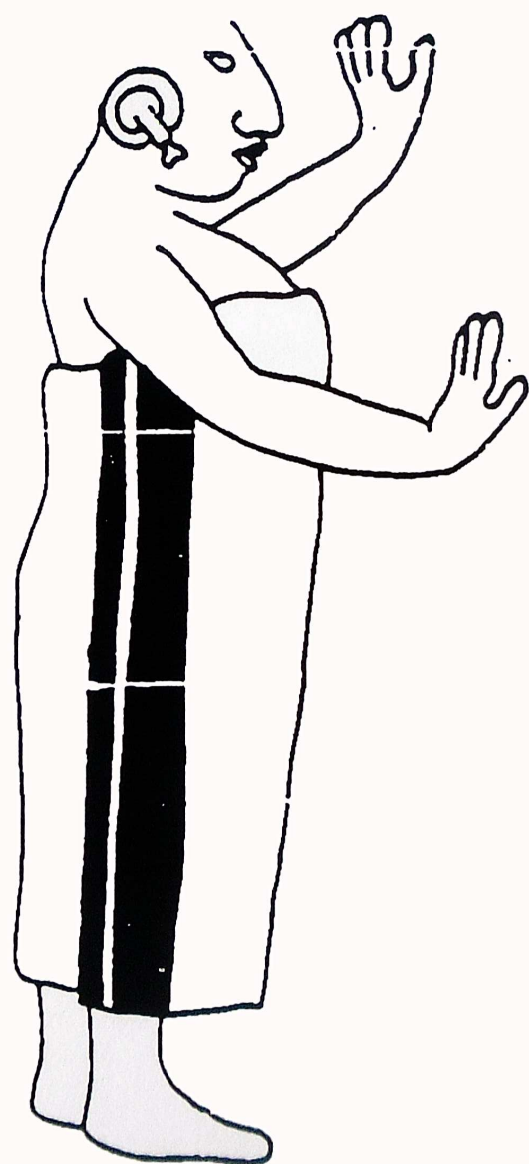
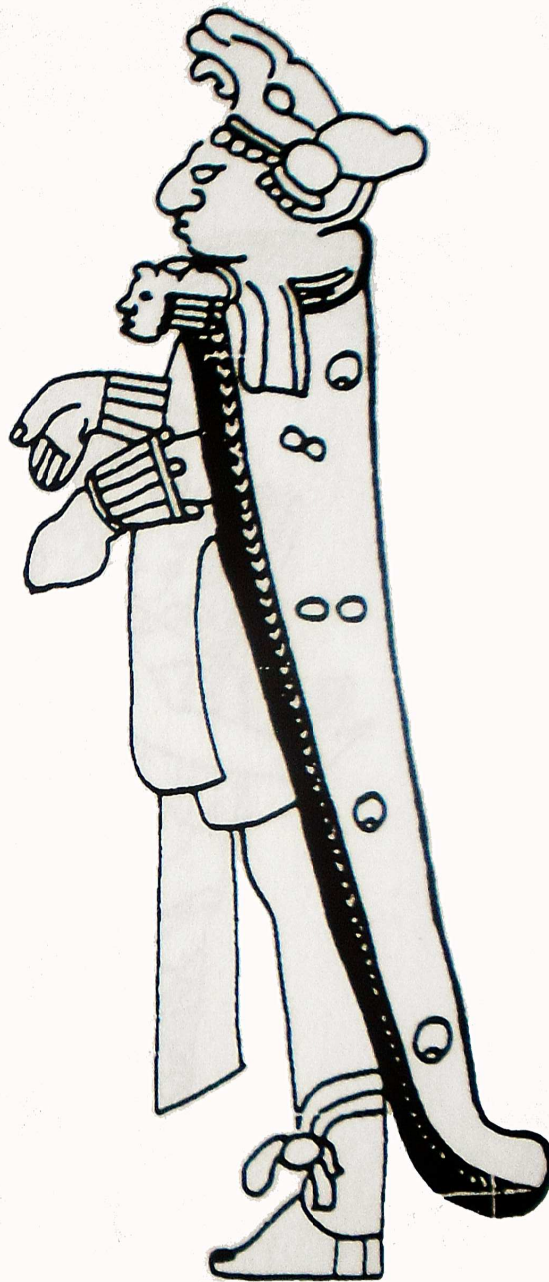


fig.2 Woman with Textile
Body Wrap



a



b

fig.3 a. Man with Short Cape

b. Man with Long Cape



fig.4 Woman with Textile
Chest Sash and Skirt

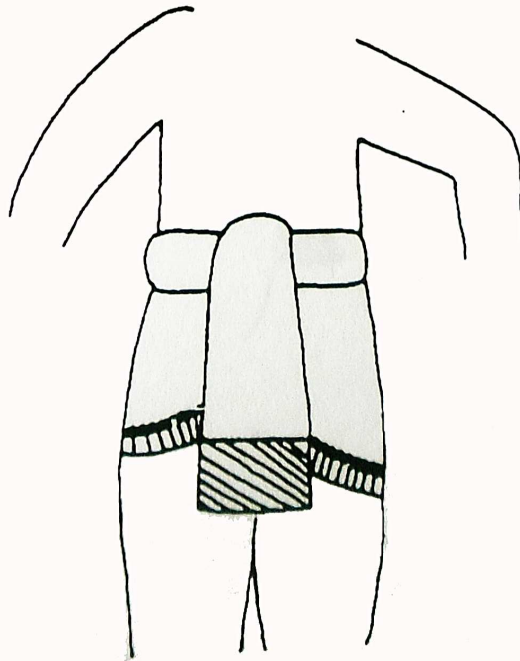
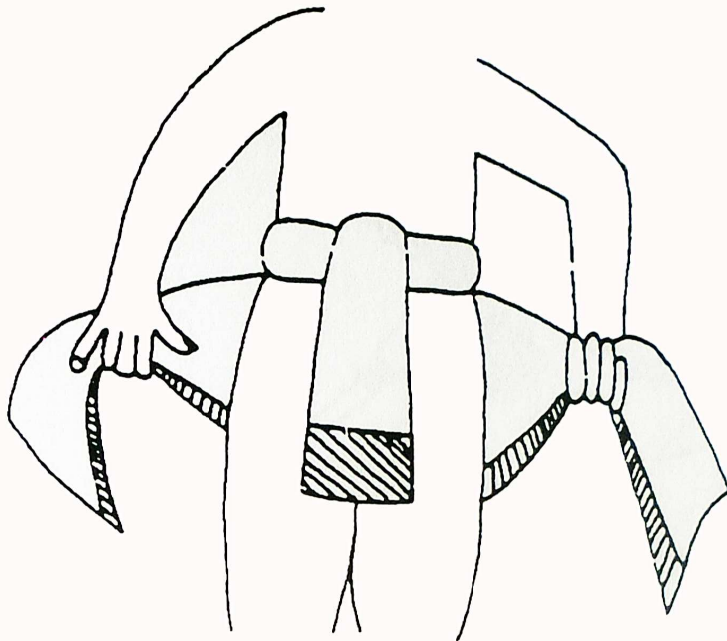


fig.5 Assemblage of the
Male Hip-cloth

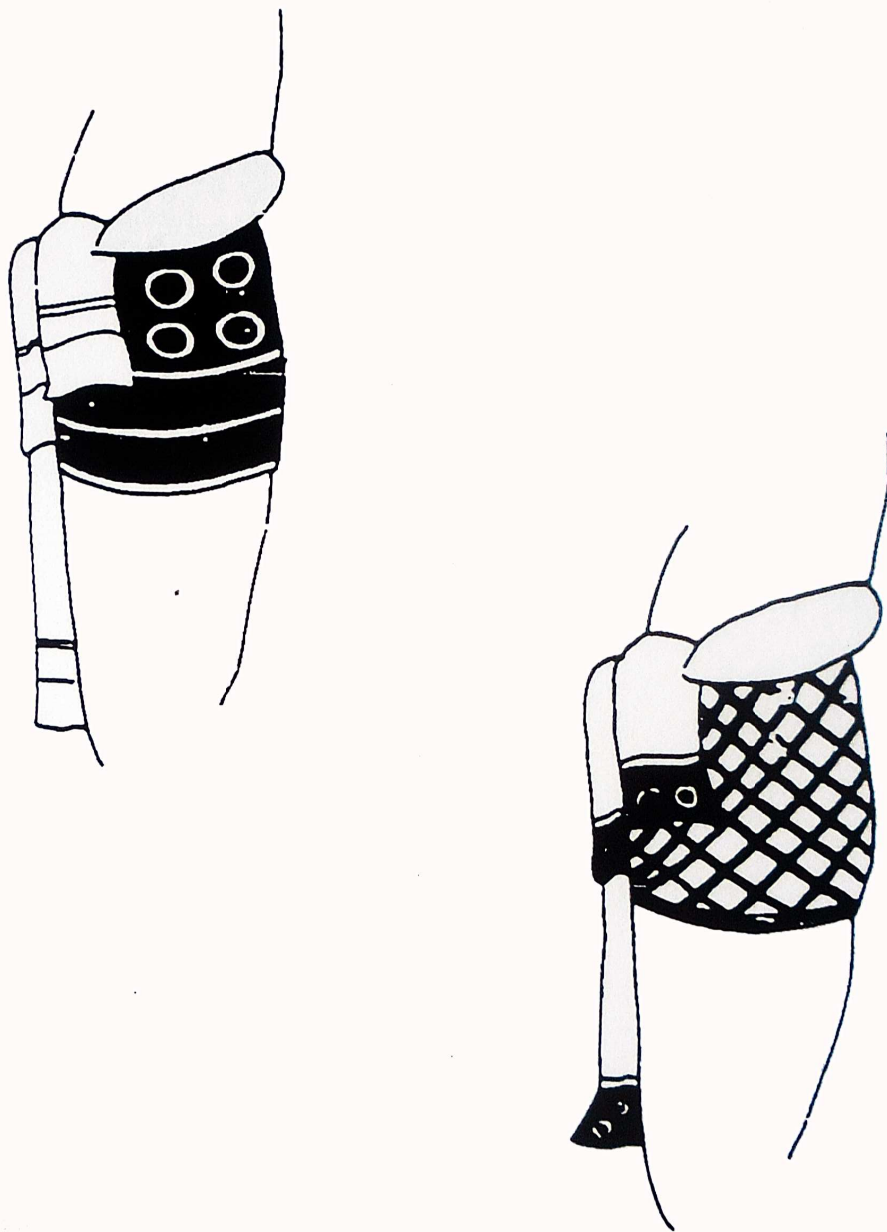


fig.6 Profile Views of
the Male Hip-cloth



fig.7 a. Woman with
Decorated
Textile Huipil
b. Woman with
Decorated
Textile Huipil

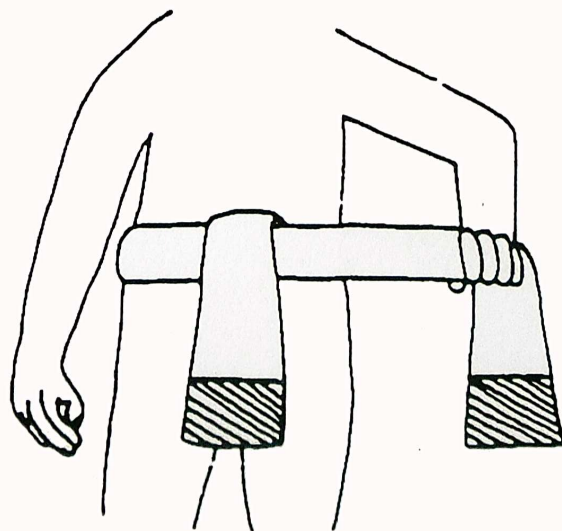
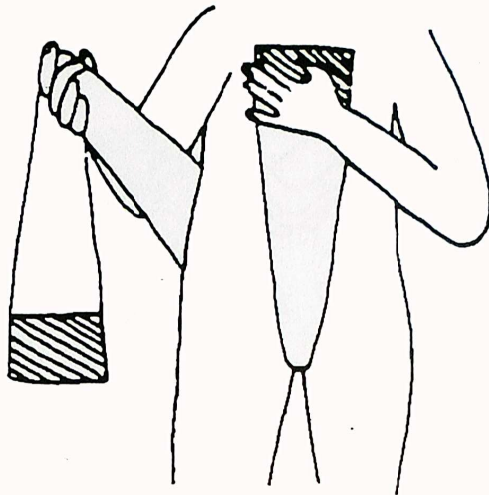


fig.8 Assemblage of the
Male Loincloth

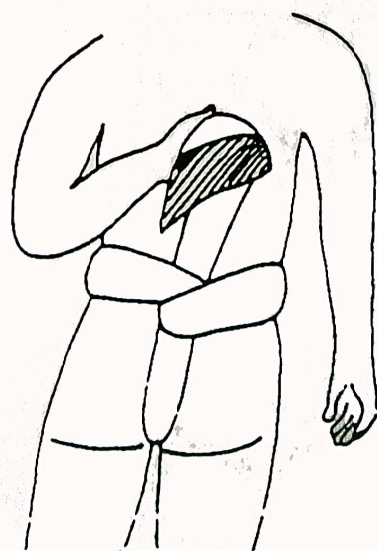
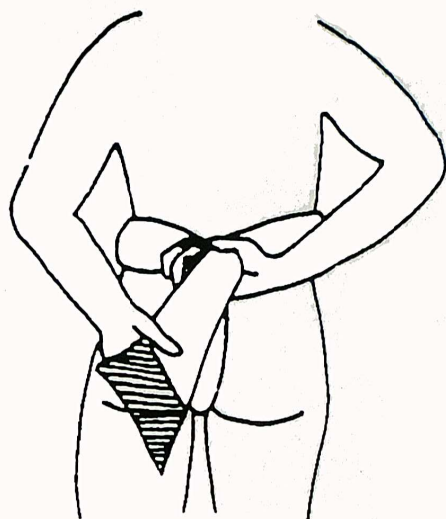


fig.9 Assemblage of the
Male Loincloth,
rear views

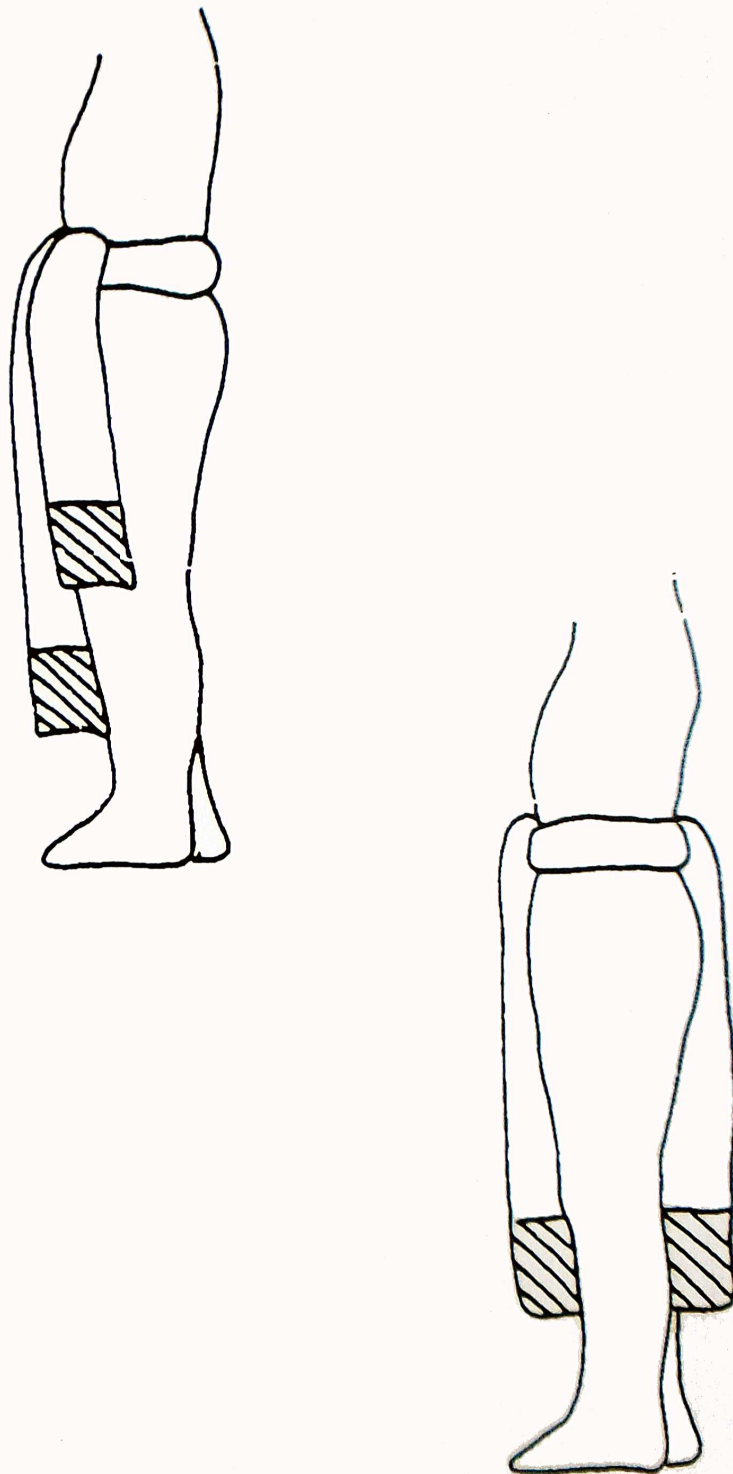


fig.10 Profile Views of
the Male Loincloth

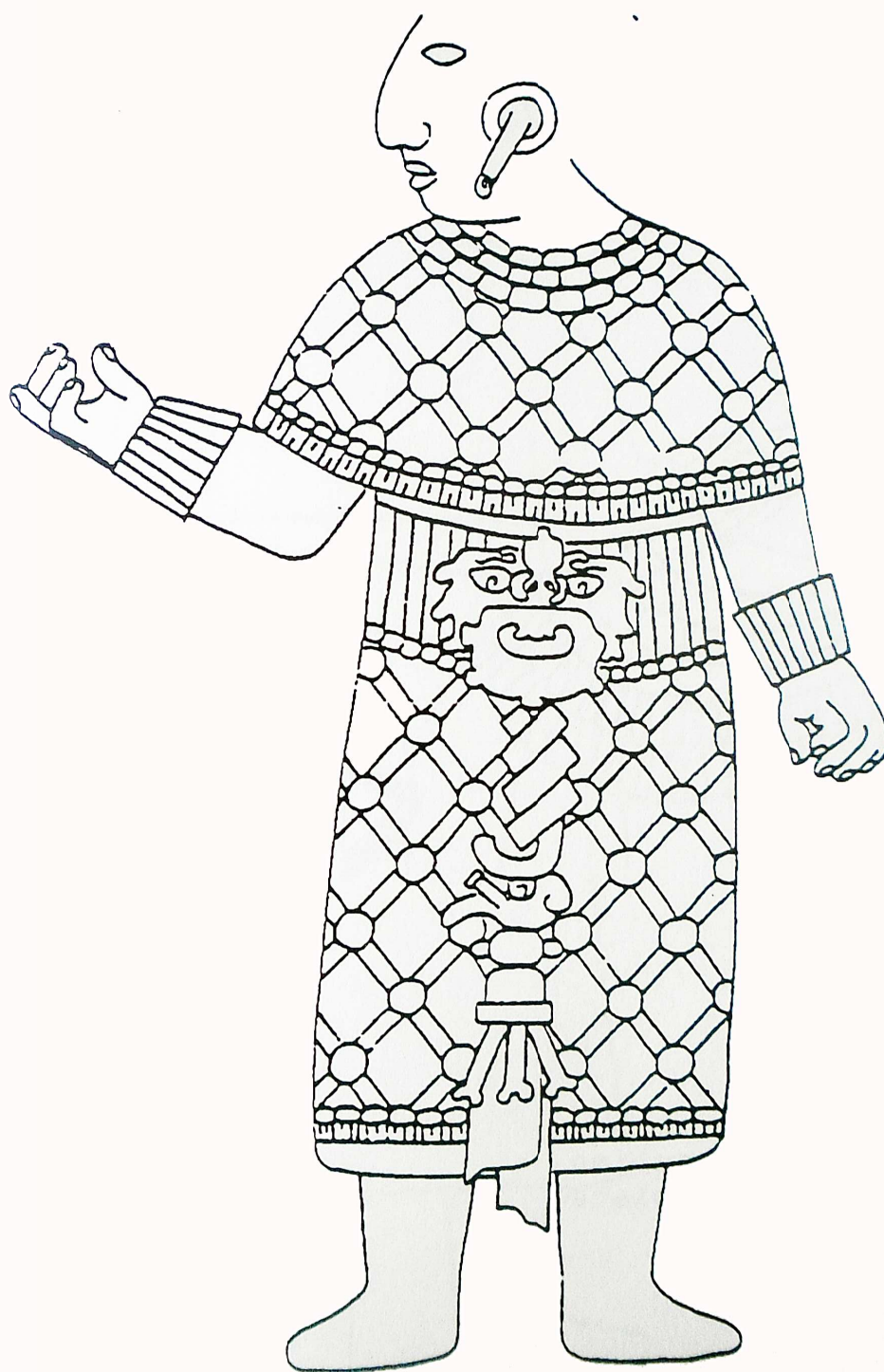


fig.11 The Female Quexquemiltl
and Skirt with Beaded
Overlays

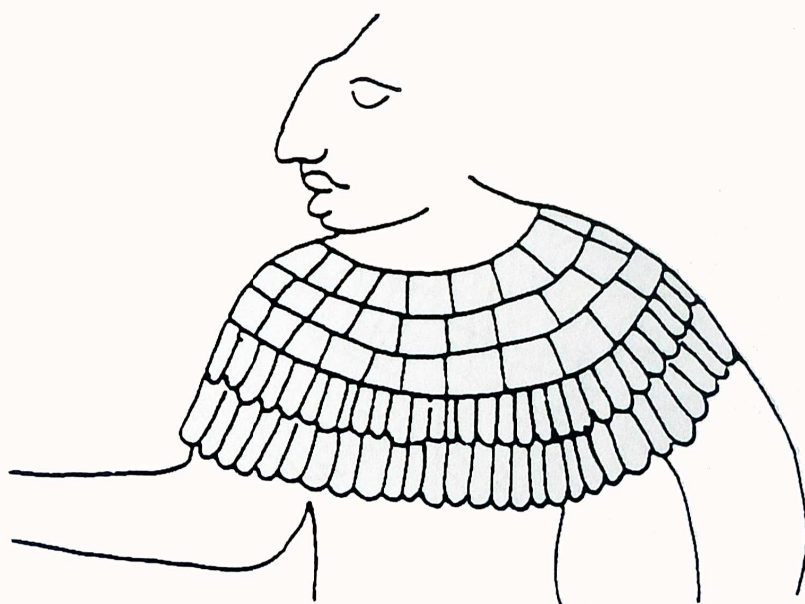


fig.12 The Masculine
Shoulderpiece

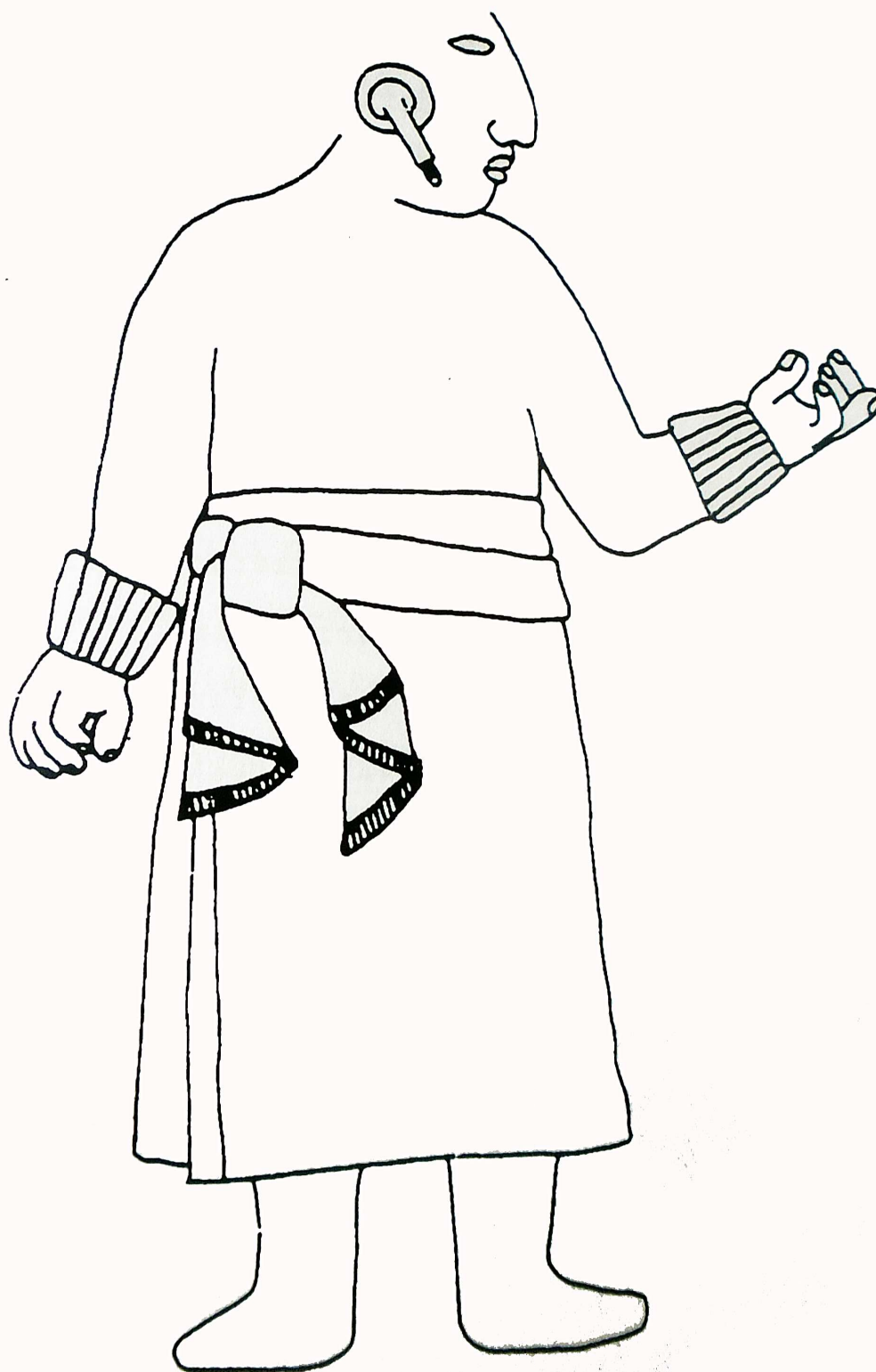


fig.13 The Female Skirt
with Textile Belt

CHAPTER TWO: THE EARLY CLASSIC (8.12.0.0.0-9.2.0.0.0)

It has long been recognized that the growth of Maya civilization made rapid progress in the northeastern part of the Peten (Morley 1938-39:I:129). At the beginning of the Classic Period, cities are concentrated in this area. The earliest known monuments (stelae) appeared during the second half of Baktun 8. Thus, writers now refer to the northeastern Peten as the core area or central zone of Classic Maya society (Rathje 1973; Coggins 1975; Willey 1977). Most Baktun 8 stelae are found at Tikal and Uaxactun, while others are scattered among centers in the surrounding vicinity (Xultun, Balakbal, El Zapote, Uolantun, Yaxha). Elsewhere, texts were carved on stelae in early Baktun 9 (Altar de Sacrificios, Quirigua), but figural compositions do not occur outside the core zone until after 9.2.0.0.0 (A.D. 474).

Proskouriakoff (1950) separated monuments erected in the core area during late Baktun 8 from those that belong to early Baktun 9. As with all her phases of the Classic Period, the division was based upon sculptural qualities such as composition, line, and figural stance. Proskouriakoff (*ibid*:103) noted, for example, that late Baktun 8 stelae typically render a single human figure in profile view using natural proportions and fluid lines. Actually, it is

a distorted profile in which the torso makes a three-quarter twist toward the frontal plane, and one foot is placed slightly behind the other. While this position continued to be used, early Baktun 9 monuments manifest an attention to small details, and at Tikal and Uaxactun, there were attempts to depict figures in frontal view (Proskouriakoff ibid:105-106).

Other motifs discussed by Proskouriakoff (ibid:102-105) as characteristic of late Baktun 8 include a selection of costume motifs. She describes head dress as a kind of helmet that surrounds the face with a circular ear plug attached to the side. Body dress is based upon loincloths, short skirts (hip-cloths), ligatures of bows, beads or bands, and wide belts decorated with maskettes, crossed bands, disks and pendant chains. Platform sandals are tied to the feet with loops attached to the soles and pulled over the instep of the foot. Lastly, many figures carry an anthropomorphic head in the hand or crook of the elbow. I can add to this list only the recent discovery of women at El Zapote wearing long skirts tied at one side of the waist (pls. 23 and 24). These motifs define native costume in late Baktun 8, and they are still found in early Baktun 9. The periodization of costume used here does not recognize significant changes in the use of motifs until after 9.2.0.0.0 (A.D. 474).

There are, however, distinctions to be drawn among what

I will call native and foreign articles in late Baktun 8. Most stelae can be said to represent native costumes, because their motifs have antecedents on Preclassic sculptures in the Maya area. A few include aberrant traits related to elements to costume at Teotihuacan and Monte Alban in Mexico. Mexican dress motifs had a profound impact upon the development of Maya costume, but the strength of this influence is not manifest until after 9.2.0.0.0 (A.D. 474). The first two katuns of Baktun 9 span a transitional period in which Peten costumes rely upon traditional motifs, coupled with some adaptations to Mexican elements.

I. Native Dress: Late Baktun 8

Joyce Marcus (1976:33) has suggested that in Baktun 8 Tikal and Uaxactun were provincial capitals influencing the growth of smaller core centers to the north and south. Her hypothesis reflects the number of preserved stelae at these cities, as well as their relative size. Most late Baktun 8 monuments were erected at Tikal and Uaxactun, and they were evidently the largest cities in the core zone. If the argument of Marcus is correct, there should be regional differences in dress between the northern and southern Peten that emanate, respectively, from Uaxactun and Tikal. The study of costume supports this idea, although developments in the north are somewhat difficult to assess. In the southern

Peten, a number of motifs seem to have precedents at Tikal.

A. Uaxactun and the Northern Peten

Most Early Classic sculptures at Uaxactun are so eroded that details of their costumes have disappeared, and many are actually only fragments. The preserved monuments, such as they are (Morley 1938-39:V:Pls. 54-58), define a scant form of body dress based upon ornaments as parts of helmet headgear and belts, and ligatures for the arms and legs. Few of the figures appear to wear clothing, although they probably all have loincloths that are hidden by large belts. At least one sculpture, Stela 19 (pl. 27) suggests the end-piece of the loincloth hanging as a panel over the genitals. Similar dress occurs in the northern Peten at Xultun on Stela 12 (pl. 28), where the loincloth is clearly visible under the rope cords and reptilian frets of the loincloth apron. Unfortunately, the only other Baktun 8 monument in the north, Stela 5 at Balakbal, has no figural carving (Morley 1938-39:V:Pl. 178c).

B. Tikal and the Southern Peten: Late Baktun 8

Proskouriakoff (1950:105) suspected that the hip-cloth, which she calls a "short skirt", was worn over the loincloth at Tikal since it occurs on the Leyden Plaque and Stela 18 (pls. 12 and 31). These examples cast some doubt on the hip-cloth as a garment peculiar to Tikal, because the Leyden Plaque probably comes from Tikal but was found on the

Caribbean Coast (Morley and Morley 1939), while Stela 18 includes Mexican articles of dress. Other Tikal monuments that might show the hip-cloth, Stelae 29 and 31, are broken below the waist.

Proof that the hip-cloth was particular to Tikal comes from a small clay statue in a private collection (pls. 15 and 16). The practice of wearing personal names in headdresses (Berlin 1968:143) identifies this figure as a portrait of Jaguar Paw, an early ruler of Tikal. He is mentioned in glyphic passages on Stela 31 as having reigned from the 14th. katun of Baktun 8 until 8.17.1.4.12 (Coggins 1975: I:138-142). Jaguar Paw was, therefore, the ruler directly before the man in Mexican dress on Stela 18, dated 8.18.0.0.0 (A.D. 395). On Stela 31, the nominal compound for Jaguar Paw includes a double or triple dotted scroll (T44), the chac glyph (T109), and a spotted jaguar paw (text to Stela 31 not included here). The same compound appears in the helmet of the clay statue (pl. 17). Moreover, the drum or cushion on which the figure sits is a three-dimensional version of the Tikal emblem glyph (pls. 15 and 16).

The simplicity of Jaguar Paw's dress on the clay statue presents a more intimate view of late Baktun 8 costume than monumental sculptures or the Leyden Plaque. Here, the figure is barefooted, with single strands of beads around the ankles, wrists and neck, and the helmet lacks a chin fastening. Nonetheless, Jaguar Paw wears a hip-cloth

similar to those shown on the Leyden Plaque and Stela 18 at Tikal (pls. 12, 15, 16 and 31). In the southern Peten, the hip-cloth also occurs at Yaxha on Stela 5, with a style date of $8.16.0.0.0 \pm 2$ (Proskouriakoff 1950:199), and on an undated monument at El Zapote that surely belongs to the same period (pl. 26). The hip-cloth thus emerges as a motif peculiar to Tikal and centers in the southern Peten during late Baktun 8.

The ceremonial bar is another motif found only in the southern Peten during late Baktun 8. It first appears at Tikal on the earliest known Classic sculpture, Stela 29 dated $8.12.14.8.15$ (pl. 11). It is next found at Yaxha on Stela 5, style dated $8.16.0.0.0 \pm 2$ (Greene et al. 1972:Pl. 161), and at El Zapote on Stela 7, dated $8.18.7.5$ (pl. 24). This sequence of dates indicates that southern cities adopted the use of the ceremonial bar from Tikal. In addition, flexible ceremonial bars with reptilian bodies are found on small products such as the Leyden Plaque and cache vessels thought to be from the Tikal area (pls. 12 and 20). Some figures at Tikal and southern centers also carry anthropomorphic heads (pls. 11 and 25), as shown in the northern Peten (pl. 28), but the ceremonial bar does not appear at Uaxactun or Xultun until the beginning of Baktun 9 (A.D. 434).

Several head dress motifs at southern cities further suggest influence from Tikal. I must first establish these

elements as particular to Tikal by examining them on Stela 29, the Leyden Plaque and two cache vessels. Stela 29 portrays an unnamed ruler on 8.12.14.8.15 (pl. 11). The Leyden Plaque records the accession of another ruler on 8.14.3.1.12 (pl. 12). Clemency Coggins (1975:I:138-142) believes that this text concerns Jaguar Paw, because it is known that he came to the throne in the 14th. katun of Baktun 8. The nominal compound at B 11, including a bone symbol and two other signs, is different from the one associated with Jaguar Paw, but for reasons discussed below, the bone symbol seems to have been a dynastic emblem at Tikal. Thus, the bone compound on the Leyden Plaque may be a general reference to a ruler later called Jaguar Paw. The two cache vessels (pls. 18 and 19) include the Jaguar Paw compound as glyphic signs in the headgear.

Stela 29 has an unusual helmet for Early Classic sculptures (pl. 11). Instead of showing a reptilian mask on top of the head, the man on Stela 29 wears a cap crowned by three bone symbols (pl. 11). A single bone later occurs in the helmet worn by Jaguar Paw on a cache vessel (pl. 19). In early Baktun 9, the helmet on Stela 31, dated 9.1.10.0.0 (A.D. 444) copies that of Stela 29 (pls. 11 and 37). These examples indicate that the bone sign (T 197) was not a personal name, but some kind of title or crest for Tikal rulers. A similar helmet with a cap and bone symbols at Uolantun on 8.13.15.0.0 (A.D. 410) suggests influence

from Tikal, and possibly, a dynastic alliance (pl. 25).

Another peculiar feature in the headdress of Stela 29 is the inverted bracket hanging from the chin guard (pl. 11). The same ornament is repeated on Stela 31 (pl. 37). In the southern Peten, the bracket occurs again at Uolantun. 8.18.15.0.0 or A.D. 410, and on one of the early women from El Zapote around 8.18.0.0.0, A.D. 395 (pls. 23 and 25). Parenthetically, this is a good time for me to note that, while men and women have distinct garments, they share a great many elements of head dress and ornaments for the body.

A third helmet motif that may have been particular to Tikal was the use of a small maskette as a chin piece. The preserved sculptures of Uaxactun and Xultun show flanged guards under the chin, and similar ranges occur in the south as well (pls. 11, 27 and 28). Yet, on the Leyden Plaque and some cache vessels from the time of Jaguar Paw, a chin maskette replaces the guard (pls. 12, 18, 20 and 31). The only known examples of such maskettes on sculptures during Baktun 8 are found in the south on Stela 18 at Tikal, dated 8.18.0.0.0 or A.D. 395 (pl. 31), and on Stela 5 at Yaxha, style dated 8.16.0.0.0 $\pm$ 2 (Greene et al. 1972:Pl. 161).

II. Preclassic Antecedents

Tikal and cities in the southern Peten seem to have used articles - hip-cloth, ceremonial bars and, probably,

headdress motifs - that are not found in the north during the late Baktun 8. The study of costume does, therefore, support the hypothesis of Joyce Marcus (1976:33). On the basis of their dress motifs, Uaxactun and Tikal seem to have been independent capitals that influenced smaller centers in the north and south. Early Baktun 9 monuments are best discussed in light of adaptations to Mexican motifs after 8.17.1.0.0 (A.D. 376), but I want to mention here that all of the native elements characteristic of late Baktun 8 continued to be worn. It was not until after 9.2.0.0.0 (A.D. 474) that Mexican traits became prominent features, and at that time, some actually replaced native motifs. In order to appreciate the strength of Mexican influence upon Peten costume, it is worthwhile discussing the Maya heritage from the late Preclassic.

Many authors have linked the origins of Classic Maya sculpture to monuments erected on the periphery of the Maya lowlands at the end of the Preclassic Period, from 300 B.C. - A.D. 250 (Stirling 1943; Proskouriakoff 1950; M. Coe 1957; Bernal 1969; Quirarte 1976; J. Graham et al. 1978). Geographically, late Preclassic centers circle the Peten in an arc from northern Yucatan to the Pacific Slopes of Mexico and Guatemala, including such sites as Loltun, Tres Zapotes, La Venta, Tonalá, El Baul, Abaj Takalik, Chocoma, Bilbao and Kaminaljuyu. These cities were surely occupied by different peoples, but the monuments have related motifs.

Similar elements appear in the Peten on what are considered to be late Preclassic monuments at Mirador and tomb paintings at Tikal (Bailey 1972:15-25; Coggins 1975:1:57-68). Excavations at recently discovered Preclassic centers (Cuello, Mirador, Lamanai, Cerros) will probably force us to consider the Maya as full participants in Preclassic history rather than merely the recipients of ideas from centers on the periphery of the Maya area. In any event, comparisons are drawn here among late Baktun 8 dress motifs and their antecedents in the Preclassic in order to establish the costumes worn by the Early Classic Maya as part of a tradition that was indigenous to eastern Mesoamerica.

A. Head Dress

The helmet worn by the Early Classic Maya varies in details of its construction, but can generally be described as an animal mask on top of the head surrounded by ornaments such as false ear plugs, maskettes, scrolls and glyphs (pls. 12, 15, 20-22, 44 and 46). Sometimes, the central mask is replaced by a rounded cap, as shown on Stelae 29 and 31 at Tikal (pls. 11 and 37). The separate parts of the helmet were probably bound together with tied knots and braided cords, since these elements often appear around ear plugs and down the sides of the face (pls. 14-15 and 20-21). In addition, most helmets have a chin fastening representing a flanged guard or a small maskette (pls. 11-12, 20 and 27).

Thus, the helmet effectively protected the head in a casing so that only the face of the actual person was visible.

Not surprisingly, most Preclassic figures wear similar headgear. As a type of head dress, the concept of the helmet probably stemmed from attempts to impersonate the supernatural. At Izapa, there are reliefs (Stelae 1,3 and 23) of anthropomorphic figures with human bodies and dragon heads (pl. 1). Although these figures may represent gods, Garth Norman (1973-78:Prt.2:78-80) believes that they are humans impersonating deities. On other Izapan sculptures (Stelae 4,18 and 21), the dragon head is cut away to reveal a human face (pl. 2). The effect is that of protecting the head in a helmet. Similar headgear is found at Kaminaljuyu (pl. 5), Chocoma, and on small products of unknown provenance (pl. 8). There are also examples of Preclassic helmets that have caps or headbands instead of dragon masks (pls. 3,4,6 and 9).

B. Garments

There is little clothing in Maya art at the beginning of the Classic Period, and the same paucity of garments is characteristic of the Preclassic. The masculine loin-cloth is usually covered by other articles of dress, but it appears on the Loltun relief because the belt has been pulled away from the legs (pl. 3). Hip-cloths are visible

on a great many Preclassic sculptures, and like those later worn by the Classic Maya, the Preclassic hip-cloth typically curves inward toward the front of the legs, and was presumably tied underneath the belt (pls. 1,2,4 and 5). The loincloth and hip-cloth are the only masculine garments in Maya art until 9.2.0.0.0 (pls. 12,16,27 and 38). It happens that most figures from the Preclassic and Early Classic represent men. Stela 1 at La Venta may portray a Preclassic woman in a skirt (Drucker et al. 1959:Pl. 56a). Long skirts are worn on the earliest stelae depicting Maya women during late Baktun 8 (pls. 23 and 24).

C. Belts

The most prominent accessory in Early Classic art is a heavy belt decorated with disks, crossed bands, maskettes, and pendant chains (pls. 12,16,26,37,43 and 44). Preclassic belts are not identical, but provide different combinations of similar motifs. Apron panels, for example, usually terminate in reptilian frets, as they do on Classic belts (pls. 2,3,5 and 8), while the borders have disks, slanted bands, pendant chains and single maskettes (pls. 3,6,8 and 9). Some figures at Izapa include a burden strapped to the rear of the belt (Stelae 1,3 and 5), but such back devices do not appear on the earliest stelae in the Peten.

D. Footgear

The sandal worn by the Early Classic Maya was fastened

onto the foot using two loops around the instep and a third strap through the toes (pls. 12, 23 and 43). Most Preclassic figures are without footgear, although boots occur at Izapa (Stelae 2 and 24), as well as soft wrappings around the feet on Stela 21 and at El Baul on Stela 1. Sandals of the type shown on the Early Classic Maya are found on Monument 42 at Bilbao and Silhouette X from Kaminaljuyu (pls. 4 and 7).

E. Jewelry

Preclassic ligatures for the arms and legs resemble those of the Early Classic in their simplicity and placement on the same areas of the body (wrist, upper arm, ankle, calf). Most are knotted bows and beaded strands (pls. 2, 5, 7-12, 15-18, 20, 23-24 and 26). Necklaces, again of bows and beads, are usually worn close to the throat on Preclassic figures (pls. 1, 2, 4 and 6), but the long collar worn at El Baul is antecedent to long necklaces worn by the Early Classic Maya (Proskouriakoff 1950:174-175).

F. Hand Objects

The two hand accessories typical of late Baktun 3 stelae in the Peten are the anthropomorphic head held in the hand or crook of the elbow (pls. 25, 28 and 30), and the ceremonial bar (pls. 11 and 24). While the bar normally occurs as a rigid scepter held in both arms, a flexible version representing the body of a reptile with two heads occasionally appears in the minor arts (pls. 12 and 20). Both

accessories are probably found with Preclassic figures. Proskouriakoff observed (1950:176) that the bent arm on Stela 1 at Abaj Takalik holds an anthropomorphic head (Miles 1965:Fig.17c). A similar head held in the same position is found on an incised celt of unknown provenance (pl. 3). I suspect that Stela 5 at Abaj Takalik carries a flaccid ceremonial bar, but the published photograph is not clear (J. Graham et al. 1978). The Loltun relief and Stela 25 at Izapa illustrate staffs like the one later shown in late Baktun 8 at El Zapote (pls. 3 and 23).

G. Summary: The Late Preclassic

Almost every article of Early Classic dress in Maya art has a prototype in the Preclassic. Equally important are Preclassic elements that do not appear on Peten monuments, such as chest straps with masks and plaques (Kaminaljuyu, Stela 10; Tres Zapotes, Stela D; La Venta, Stela 3); a greater variety of hand accessories (pls. 1-5); and the textile or featherwork capes found at Izapa (pl. 2). Kaminaljuyu on both Stelae 10 and 11 (pl. 5), Tres Zapotes (Stela D), La Venta (Stela 2), the Chocoma relief, and the preclassic wall paintings of Tikal (pl. 10). The Tikal figures, dated 50-25 B.C., have been compared to sculptures at Izapa and Kaminaljuyu on the basis of their dress and anecdotal presentation (Bailey 1972:15-23; Coggins 1975:1:54-85).

By A.D. 300, the earliest known stelae in the Peten represent a distinct selection of Preclassic elements that focus attention on the head, waist and extremities of the body using clusters of ornaments. Late Baktun 8 stelae are closest, as other writers have observed (Proskouriakoff 1950:175-177; Coggins 1975:I:42-43; J. Graham et al 1978), to Preclassic sculptures on the Pacific Slopes of Guatemala. It is this southern region that has a concentration of specific motifs later found on Peten monuments, including the long necklace (El Baul, Stela 1); the pendant chain attached to the belt (Abaj Takalik, Stelae 1 and 2); the anthropomorphic head in the crook of the elbow (El Baul, Stela 1); possibly the ceremonial bar (Abaj Takalik, Stela 5); and sandals of Early Classic type (Bilbao, Monument 42). In addition, these Guatemalan sculptures tend to present one or two figures in static, commemorative postures, as do the earliest Peten stelae. The Preclassic monuments of Izapa, Kaminaljuyu, Tres Zapotes and La Venta exhibit active poses, and occasionally, narrative scenes involving figural groups.

Although it is tempting to suggest that centers in southern Guatemala had more influence upon the Maya than other Preclassic regions, the similarities among the Guatemalan monuments and early stelae in the Peten may stem more from their proximity in time. Most sculptures at Izapa were probably carved between 300-100 B.C. (Norman 1973-78;

Prt. 2:324). Some sculptures of Tres Zapotes (Stela D) and La Venta (Stelae 1,2 and 3) probably date to the same period (Milbrath 1979:48), as do Stelae 10 and 11 at Kaminaljuyu (Miles 1965:252). On the Pacific Slopes of Guatemala, monuments have texts in the Maya system which date the florescence of this region to the early centuries A.D. during late Baktun 7 and early Baktun 8, including Stela 1 at El Baul (7.19.15.7.12 or A.D.37), Stela 2 at Abaj Takalik which has a damaged date (7.--.--.--), and Stela 5 (8.4.5.17.11 or A.D. 126). It is my guess that other Preclassic figures wearing similar dress motifs, such as the Loltun relief, Silhouette X from the highlands of Guatemala and small objects of unknown provenance (pls. 3,4 and 8) are close in time. Thus, while it is not known how the Maya absorbed influences, late Baktun 8 stelae in the Peten represent a continuum with the Preclassic tradition.

III. Adaptations to Mexican Dress Motifs

The arrival of Mexican peoples in the Peten around 8.17.1.0.0 (A.D. 376) introduced motifs related to costumes at Teotihuacan and Monte Alban. It is doubtful that Mexicans entered the Peten directly from either center. Their place of origin remains unknown. They probably represented a mixed ethnic group of Mexicans, and conceivably, Mexicanized Maya that had been living on the periphery of the Peten. These intruders may have come from Kaminaljuyu in the Guatemalan

highlands, where there is strong evidence of trade with Teotihuacan, or from some northwestern city, relative to the Peten, in the Gulf Coast area (Kidder et al. 1946:251-56; Coggins 1979:41). Although the costume traditions of Teotihuacan and Monte Alban share much in common, I have found the closest parallels for foreign motifs in the Peten at Teotihuacan.

Tikal seems to have been the focus of Mexican interests in the Peten, and probably accepted a foreign ruler to the throne, Curl Nose, from 8.17.2.6.17 to 8.19.10.0.0 or A.D. 377-425 (Coggins 1975:I:100). At least two monuments at Tikal, Stelae 4 and 18, portray this intruder (pls. 30 and 31), and perhaps, the fragmentary Stelae 32 and 36. Only two other centers have monuments that include Mexican motifs. Stela 5 at Uaxactun (pl. 29) depicts a warrior carrying Mexican weapons on 8.17.1.4.12, and the text ends with the Tikal emblem glyph. Stela 11 at Yaxha (Greene et al. 1972: Pl. 163) is undated, but almost identical to the deity impersonator on Stela 32 at Tikal, which was found in a cache dated 8.19.10.0.0-9.1.10.0.0 (pl. 36).

Mexican motifs substantially altered the development of Maya costume. From the vantage point of the Late Classic Period, many articles that I would describe as typical of Maya dress first appear as adaptations to Mexican elements at Tikal and its probable satellite, El Zapote, during the last katuns of Baktun 8 and early Baktun 9. Initially, the

monuments associated with Curl Nose (8.17.1.0.0-8.19.10.0.0) combine native and foreign motifs as separate articles. At Tikal, for example, Curl Nose wears a Mexican headdress on Stela 4, but the anthropomorphic head in his hand is a native accessory typical of late Baktun 8 rulers (pl. 30). Such distinctions are no longer possible after 9.0.0.0.0 (A.D. 434) although elements can be recognized as Mexican in origin. What were intrusive motifs are now rendered as parts of the Maya repertory, and their progression can be followed into the Late Classic.

A. Head Dress

Mexican head dress was based upon turbans, masks and featherwork (figs. 14 and 15). Since this kind of headgear is visually distinct from the helmets worn by the Early Classic Maya (pls. 11-15), foreign headdresses are readily apparent on Peten monuments toward the end of Baktun 8. By 9.5.0.0.0 (A.D. 533), the traditional Maya helmet, inherited from the Preclassic (pls. 4-5 and 8-9), rarely appears on Classic figures. Most cities had adopted feathered head-dresses similar to those used in central and southern Mexico. Adaptations to Mexican forms of headgear are discussed below in more detail.

1. Turban and Mask Headgear

At Uaxactun, the warrior carrying Mexican weapons on Stela 5 (pl. 29) wears a turban and bird configuration that

is not, to my knowledge, found at Monte Alban, but it occurs on many Teotihuacan figurines (fig. 16). It might be argued that the turban and bird motif began in the Peten, since Stela 5 is probably earlier than the figurines, but the frequency of turbans with birds in central Mexico suggests that it was a headdress peculiar to Teotihuacan. There are only two examples of such turbans in the Maya area, including Stela 5 from Uaxactun and a figurine from a "Teotihuacan style cache" excavated at Becan (Ball 1974).

Turbans were, moreover, characteristic of Mexican costumes and can appear alone or as parts of more complex headgear on figurines, wall paintings and monumental sculptures. They never acquired such importance for the Maya. Beginning around 9.5.0.0.0 (A.D. 533), turbans in Maya art are usually associated with simple dress (pls. 101, 140, 175, 281 and 293). In looking at the shapes of Mexican turbans, the closest to those later worn by the Maya come from Teotihuacan (figs. 15-18). The type common to Monte Alban has a drum shape, often marked with striated lines, and flaps extend from the sides of the turban down to the shoulders (Caso and Bernal 1952:Figs. 10, 30, 33, 51, 164, 206 and 284). It was the round turban with masks and featherwork that was adapted by the Classic Maya.

Stela 4 at Tikal depicts the foreign intruder, Curl Nose, who acceded to the throne on 8.17.2.6.17 (pl. 30). On this sculpture, his feathered headdress resembles

headgear worn at both Teotihuacan (fig. 16) and Monte Alban (Caso and Bernal 1952:Figs. 288-296). The Mexican versions are slightly different from the one found at Tikal, but they all frame the face in the upper jaws of a dragon mask surrounded by clusters of feathers. After 9.2.0.0.0 (A.D. 474), Tikal rulers are invariably presented wearing similar headdresses using masks, turbans and featherwork (pls. 49-56). Later monuments from other centers, beginning around 9.5.0.0.0 (A.D. 533) apparently followed the lead of Tikal. In other words, the type of headdress which became characteristic of Classic Maya sculpture combines masks with feather plumes (pls. 71,78,87-88,90,102 and 115). Thus, the traditional helmet inherited from the Preclassic was gradually abandoned in favor of headgear expressive of Mexican influence in the core zone during late Baktun 8.

2. Mosaic Platelet Headgear

There is a type of helmet at Teotihuacan that seems to have been encrusted with stone disks and small plaques (fig. 17). These headdresses often have chin guards and thus resemble the traditional Maya helmet, but the mosaic surface treatment is distinct. Since a variety of headdresses at Teotihuacan included stone ornaments (Sejourne 1966a:Pls. 15-20), mosaic headgear should probably be regarded as having been plated with ornaments of obsidian, jade or shell. The purpose of such headdresses at Teotihuacan remains unknown, although Laurette Sejourne

(1966a:121) compared them to Toltec-Maya warriors at Chichen Itza during the Postclassic.

The Classic Maya did associate mosaic headgear with warfare (Kubler 1973), beginning with the soldiers on the sides of Stela 31 at Tikal on 9.0.10.0.0, A.D. 444 (pls. 38 and 39). While these figures carry Mexican shields and spear throwers, it is doubtful that they represent foreign emissaries. The central figure on Stela 31 (pl. 37) is the son of Curl Nose, Stormy Sky, whose reign spans a period of synthesis at Tikal when Mexican ideas were adapted to a more native idiom during the first two katuns of Baktun 9 (A.D. 434-474). Subsequently, platelet mosaic headgear appears primarily at western centers (pls. 104, 140 and 174), as well as on the Late Classic lintels of Tikal (pls. 196 and 199). Most of these figures also carry Mexican weapons, including square shields, short spears and spear throwers.

3. Impersonation of the Supernatural

Part of head dress at Teotihuacan was the use of face ornaments over the eyes and mouth as elements of disguise for persons costumed as gods (fig. 18). It has been customary to identify most such impersonators as representing a Mexican rain deity known as Tlaloc to the Aztecs. A more careful analysis of Tlaloc images at Teotihuacan indicates that several deities have been confused as one (Pasztor 1974). Teotihuacan deity costumes in the Peten during the

Early Classic include the headdresses on the shields of Stelae 4 and 31 at Tikal (pls. 30 and 39), the fragmentary Stela 32 from Tikal (pl. 36), and a full figure on Stela 11 at Yaxha (Greene et al. 1972:Pl. 163). All of these figures represent "Tlaloc B", a war god with circular eyepieces, tau-shaped mouth ornament and row of pendent elements across the front of the headdress (Pasztor 1974:10-14).

According to Pasztor (*ibid*:15), Tlaloc B has jaguar associations at Teotihuacan. She cites murals in the Palaces of Atetelco and the Jaguars, where stalking felines are surrounded by Tlaloc B figures. The well known "Jaguar Warrior" from the Palace of Zacuala (fig. 25) actually portrays a human disguised as a jaguar holding a square shield. There does, thus, seem to be a relation among concepts of warfare, impersonation and feline symbolism at Teotihuacan. Not surprisingly, the earliest deity impersonators in Classic Maya art coincide with the period of Mexican influence in the Peten around 8.19.10.0.0 (A.D. 425). At this time, Mexican traits on Maya sculptures and portable small objects include tau-shaped mouth ornaments and jaguar masks (pls. 32-34). Thereafter, most impersonators in Maya art wear jaguar headgear or have looped eyepieces associated with the "Jaguar God of the Underworld" (Spinden 1913:77; Kubler 1969:29; Thompson 1970:292-293). It is surely no accident that these figures also carry military paraphernalia (pls. 213, 215 and 216). This is an assemblage of motifs (war

accessories, face ornaments and jaguar headgear) that were adopted by the Maya from Teotihuacan.

B. Garments

The Maya and their predecessors wore strips or squares of woven cloth that were tied around the hips for male loincloths or hip-cloths and long skirts on women. Since these garments are undecorated at the beginning of the Classic Period, they presumably represent foundation weaves that were cut directly off looms, leaving fringes of loose strings tied with beads (pls. 12 and 23). The same articles were worn in Mexico at Teotihuacan and Monte Alban, but they were combined with shoulder garments. Mexicans at these centers wore more clothing than the Early Classic Maya. Correspondingly, the art of Teotihuacan and Monte Alban reveals an interest in the decoration of garments. Even the basic Teotihuacan loincloth displays angular woven motifs in tapestry or brocade (fig. 19).

1. The Feminine Quexquemilt

The earliest portrayals of women in Classic sculpture are found at El Zapote near Tikal around 8.18.0.0.0, A.D. 395 (pls. 23 and 24). Both females wear long skirts tied around the waist, and while the upper torso is exposed, the breasts are covered by long necklaces and hand accessories. The convention of obscuring the chest is in keeping with later representations of women in Classic Maya sculpture.

Bare breasts are found on figurines and vases (M. Coe 1973: Cat.No.25; M. Miller 1975:Fig. 7), but on monuments, breasts are always concealed (pls. 87 and 221). Indeed, these are the only instances of women on sculptures who do not have shoulder garments.

Most Maya women on Peten monuments wore a slip-on shoulderpiece called the quexquemitl, beginning with Stela 5 at El Zapote on 9.0.0.0.0, A.D. 434 (pl. 46). The word quexquemitl comes from the Aztec language, but the garment dates back to Preclassic times in the Valley of Mexico (Cordry and Cordry 1968:81-82). During the Classic Period, the women of Teotihuacan and Monte Alban wore two kinds of quexquemitli. One version, called the triangular quexquemitl, was made from two squares of woven cloth and pulled over the head with points falling in front and back of the chest (fig. 20a-d). Less common is the round quexquemitl, sewn together from two pieces of cloth woven in a curved technique (fig. 20e). Both shoulderpieces were decorated with angular woven motifs (fig. 20).

Curiously, the Early Classic Maya adopted only the round quexquemitl. It became typical of feminine dress in Peten during Baktun 9 (Proskouriakoff 1961:91-92; Cordry and Cordry 1968:82-83).⁴ After El Zapote (pl. 46), women

⁴ I need to remind the reader here that Proskouriakoff (1950, 1961) refers to the quexquemitl as a short cape, which is not correct (Cordry and Cordry 1968:81). Since there are examples of women wearing short capes in Classic Maya art, the distinction is an important one.

wearing long skirts and round quexquemitli appear at Tikal (pl. 66), Altar de Sacrificios (J. Graham 1972:Figs. 5, 16 and 39), Dos Pilas (Greene et al. 1972:Pl. 92), Naranjo and Xultun (pls. 222-223 and 228). These shoulderpieces, as well as the skirts, are covered with superimposed layers of beads. It is my guess that networks of beads were placed over female garments in the Early Classic in imitation of textile designs on Mexican clothing. The Early Classic Maya were not particularly skilled at weaving, but decorative beadwork suddenly appears on both masculine and feminine garments (pls. 43 and 46) just at the time (A.D. 434-474) when Mexican motifs were being adapted to native tastes and abilities. The mesh pattern of tubular and round beads on Maya garments is specifically reminiscent of the decorated skirt on the monumental Teotihuacan sculpture known as the "Water Goddess" (Sejourne 1966:Pl. 64).

2. The Masculine Shoulderpiece

No term has survived for the masculine counterpart to the quexquemitl, but a shoulderpiece was unquestionably worn by Mexican men during the Classic Period. At Monte Alban, this garment barely covers the shoulders (Caso and Bernal 1952:Figs. 242, 289, 317 and 345). A longer version occurs at Teotihuacan. Unlike the feminine quexquemitl, the masculine shoulderpiece from Teotihuacan had openings for the arms, and they are emphasized by the addition of flaps on the sides of the garment (fig. 21). In the Peten,

monuments showing this shoulderpiece are eroded, but parts of the garment are visible (pls. 29 and 47). Subsequently, the Maya simplified the Mexican shoulderpiece. The arm holes and flaps were ignored in favor of a cloth or feather-work collar that simply falls over the shoulders like the female quexquemitl (pls. 51, 54, 67, 87, 94 and 98).

3. Capes

Capes are fairly common in the art of central and southern Mexico in Classic times, although they seem to occur more frequently with females at Teotihuacan and with men at Monte Alban (Caso and Bernal 1952:Figs. 8, 63, 126, 234 and 291; Sejourne 1966a:Figs. 143, 152 and Pl. 55; A. Miller 1973:Fig. 206). I am not certain that their use in the Maya area should be attributed to Mexican influence, but the appearance of capes at Tikal on 9.2.0.0.0 (A.D. 474) is suspicious (pls. 49 and 50). Capes are usually worn by men in Classic Maya art, but there are exceptions on stelae at Tikal and Naranjo (pls. 64 and 260). It need be said, however, that capes never became popular among the Maya, as they occur only intermittently (pls. 131, 137-138, 140, 168, 175 and 257).

C. Accessories

In this section, I have gathered miscellaneous elements from Teotihuacan which became significant features of Classic Maya costume, such as choker necklaces, sandals with

heel guards, back devices, and objects held in the hand. As in the case of head dress, the Maya abandoned some traditional motifs inherited from the Preclassic for adaptations to Mexican motifs.

1. Collar Necklaces

The kind of necklace diagnostic of late Baktun 8 in the Peten was a long strand of beads or woven rope that hung well below the waist (pls. 15, 23, 25-26 and 28). A similar neck ornament occurs in the Maya area during late Preclassic times at El Baul on Stela 1 (Proskouriakoff 1950:174-175). Nothing like these long necklaces is found in Mexico during the Classic Period. At Monte Alban, most figures wear a choker with a pendant suspended from the center, while Teotihuacan had a variety of collars using rows of beads, small plaques and shells (fig. 22a-i). Particularly characteristic of Teotihuacan was a choker of scallop shaped shells (fig. 22a & b). The same shell necklace is worn by the Mexican intruder, Curl Nose, on Stela 4 at Tikal, as well as by the soldiers in Mexican dress on the sides of Stela 31 (pls. 30, and 38-39). Correspondingly, other Peten figures from this early period wearing Mexican dress motifs have choker necklaces (pls. 29, 36, 46 and 47).

It is easy to make a transition to beaded collars of the Late Classic Period by looking at the royal couple on the front and back of Stela 5 at El Zapote (pls. 46-47,

109, 116, 125, 167 and 190). In fact, the El Zapote sculpture is advanced for its time (9.0.0.0.0, A.D. 434). It is not really until 9.8.0.0.0 (A.D. 592) that most cities begin to wear beaded collars modeled after those found at Teotihuacan (pls. 69, 71, 95). Until then, there is some ambivalence toward neck decoration. Calakmul, Altar de Sacrificios and Yaxchilan combined adaptations to Mexican collars with old-fashioned long necklaces (pls. 49-55 and 94). There was also a tendency to preserve long necklaces at distant centers to the east (Belize) and in the northern lowlands, including Caracol, Coba and Oxkintok (pls. 83 and 88), but this is a provincial trait that differs from the general trend.

2. Footgear

One of the most obvious changes in Maya dress, as a result of Mexican contacts with the Peten during Baktun 8, was the adoption of sandals with heelguards (fig. 23). This kind of footgear invariably appears on murals and figurines at Teotihuacan. In Oaxaca, these sandals occur on late Preclassic figures (Caso and Bernal 1952:Fig. 8), and again in the Early Classic wall paintings in Tombs 104 and 105 at Monte Alban. The traditional Maya sandal, inherited from the Preclassic, had a platform sole and loops over the instep of the foot (pls. 4, 7, 12, 23, 25 and 27-28). However, during late Baktun 8, the Mexican dressed figure on Stela 5

at Uaxactun wears sandals with heelguards (pl. 29). Around 9.2.0.0.0 (A.D. 474), beginning at Tikal, the Maya adopted Mexican sandals (pls. 49, 71, 80, 89 and 98).

3. Hand Accessories

Among the Mexican hand accessories that appear on late Baktun 8 stelae, most are weapons such as square shields, short spears and spearthrowers (pls. 29-30, 38 and 39). Mexican figurines and sculptures rarely carry objects, but the same accessories are found on Teotihuacan murals in the Palaces of Tepantitla, Zacuala and Atetelco (Sejourne 1966a:Figs. 80, 136 and 194; A. Miller 1973:Figs. 193-194, 200, 336, 341-342).

Typical of wall paintings at Teotihuacan are figures that carry small bags (Sejourne 1966:Figs. 72 and 195; A. Miller 1973:Figs. 149, 173-177, 182, 208, 235 and 366). One example is illustrated here (fig. 24). Very similar pouches are shown on the Murals of Tombs 104 and 105 and on some ceramics from Monte Alban in Oaxaca (Caso and Bernal 1952:Figs. 26 and 28; Easby and Scott 1970:Cat. No. 160). The earliest known bag in Maya art probably occurs at Xultun on Stela 20, dated 9.0.0.0.0 or A.D. 434 (pl. 48). Later, from 9.2.0.0.0-9.3.0.0.0 (A.D. 474-494), more examples are found at Tikal (pls. 50-53-55), and perhaps at the same time, at Tres Islas in the Pasion district of the Peten (pl. 58). Thereafter, small bags are primarily carried in

the central Peten and western lowlands (pls. 121, 167, 174, 191, 193-195, 212, 217 and 233).

The most curious accessory at Teotihuacan is a cluster of small motifs that fall from the hand as if they were in a stream of liquid (A. Miller 1973: Figs. 85, 124, 173, 176-177, 203, 231, 235, 295, 301-302, 324, 326 and 366). One example is shown here (fig. 24). After the arrival of Mexicans in the Peten, the Maya adopted falling objects as hand accessories, including wristlet chains at Tikal and Xultun (pls. 37, 43-44 and 48). A stream of liquid at El Zapote (pl. 46) serves, in turn, as a model for later representations of the "scattering gesture" in which grains or drops of water fall onto the ground or into a container (pls. 116, 131, 137 and 195). None of the falling accessories found with Maya figures closely resemble their counterparts at Teotihuacan, but since native dress in late Baktun 8 includes only anthropomorphic heads and ceremonial bars as hand objects, the appearance of falling accessories after 9.0.0.0.0 (A.D. 434) suggests Mexican prototypes.

4. Back Devices

The last article of dress from Mexico to be discussed was the use of back devices attached to the rear of the belt. At Teotihuacan and Monte Alban, these objects were usually made of feathers fastened onto a central disk (fig. 25). Similar devices appear in Maya art after the arrival of

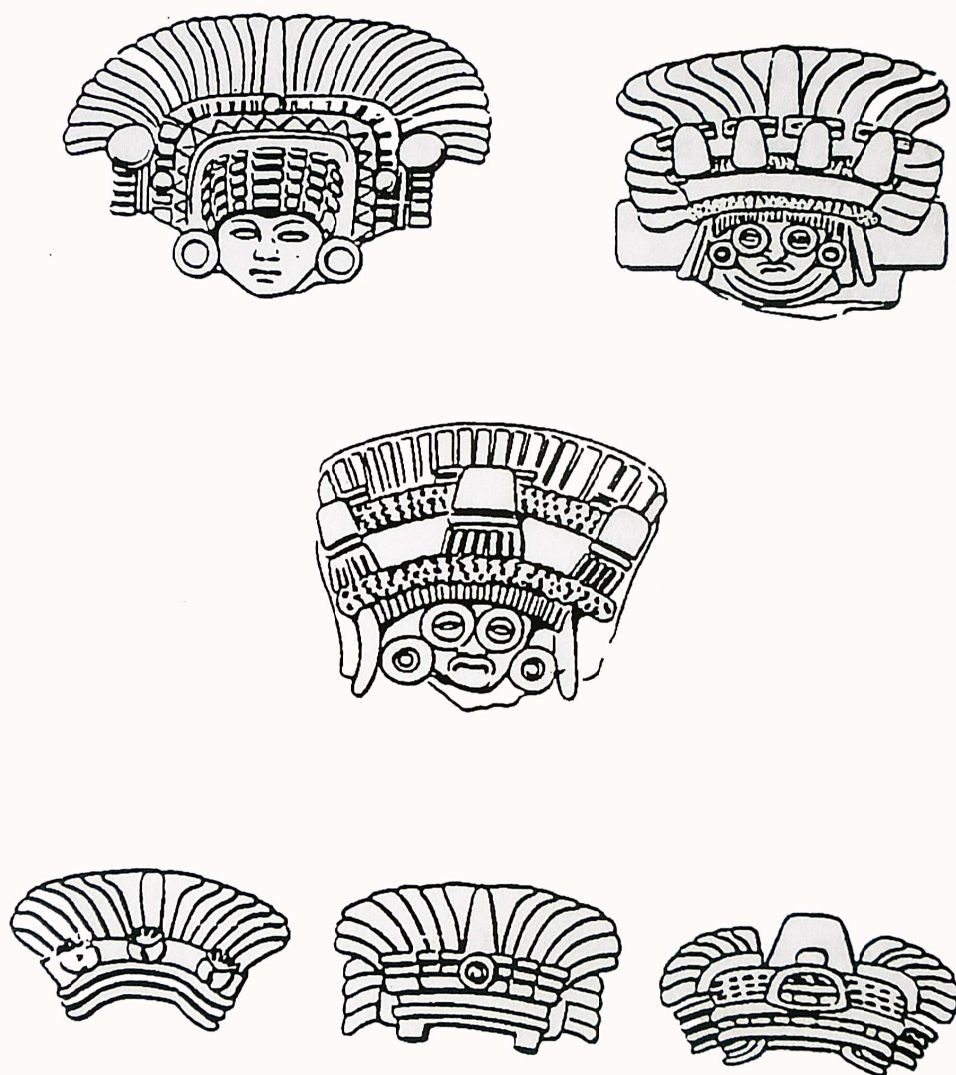


fig.14 Teotihuacan
Headdresses



fig.15 Teotihuacan
Headdresses



fig.16 Teotihuacan
Headdresses

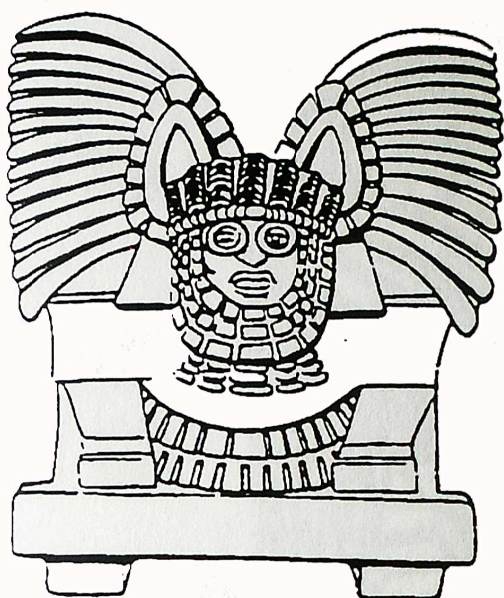


fig.17 Teotihuacan
Headdresses



fig.18 Teotihuacan
Deity Impersonator



fig.19 Teotihuacan Male
Loincloths

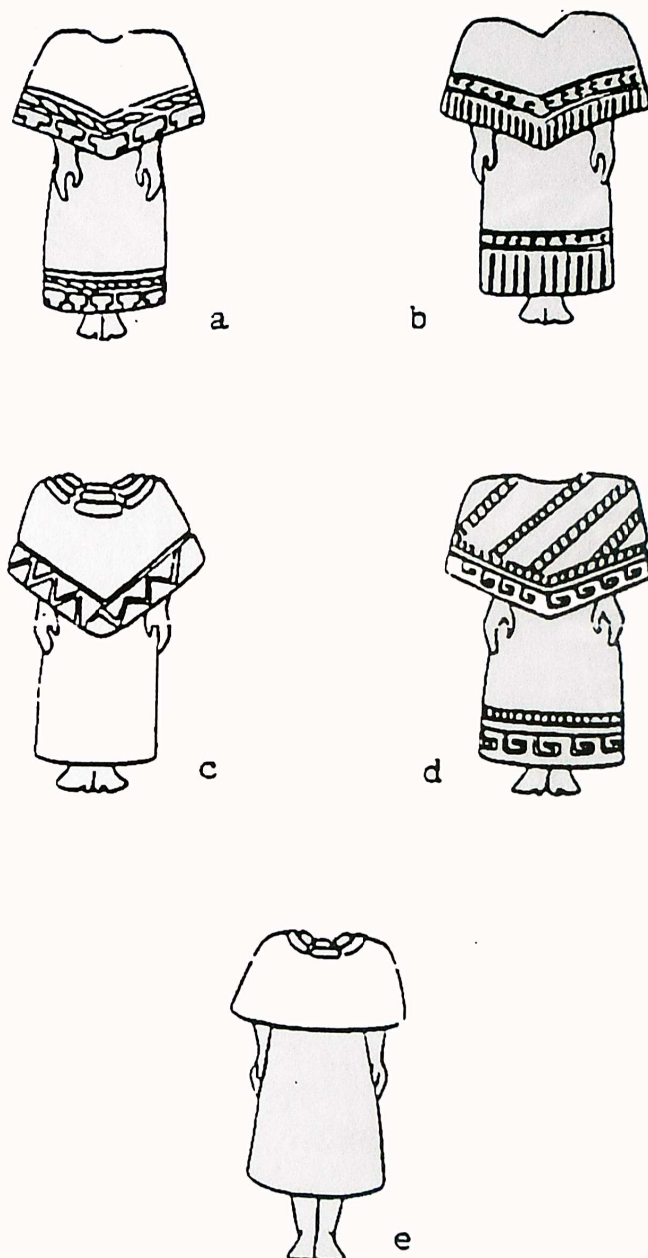


fig.20 Teotihuacan Female
Skirts and
Quexquemitli

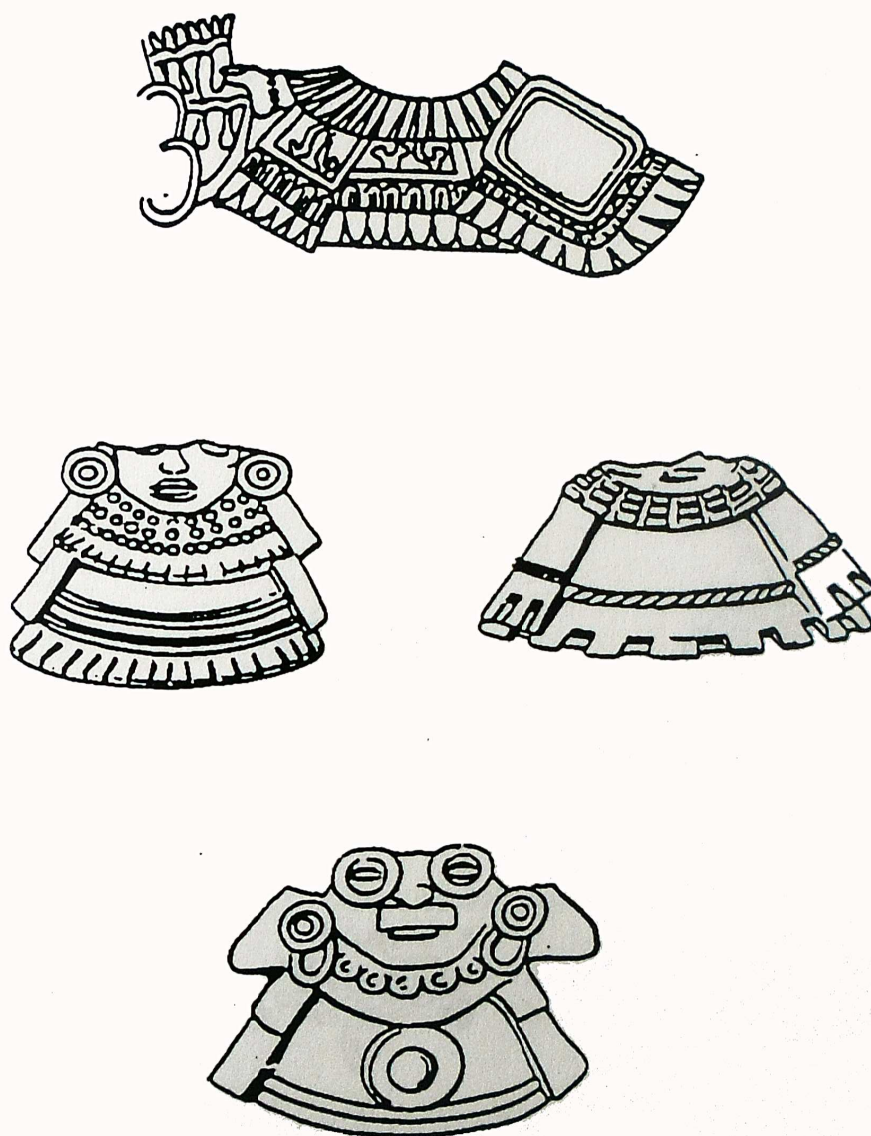


fig.21 Teotihuacan Male
Shoulderpieces

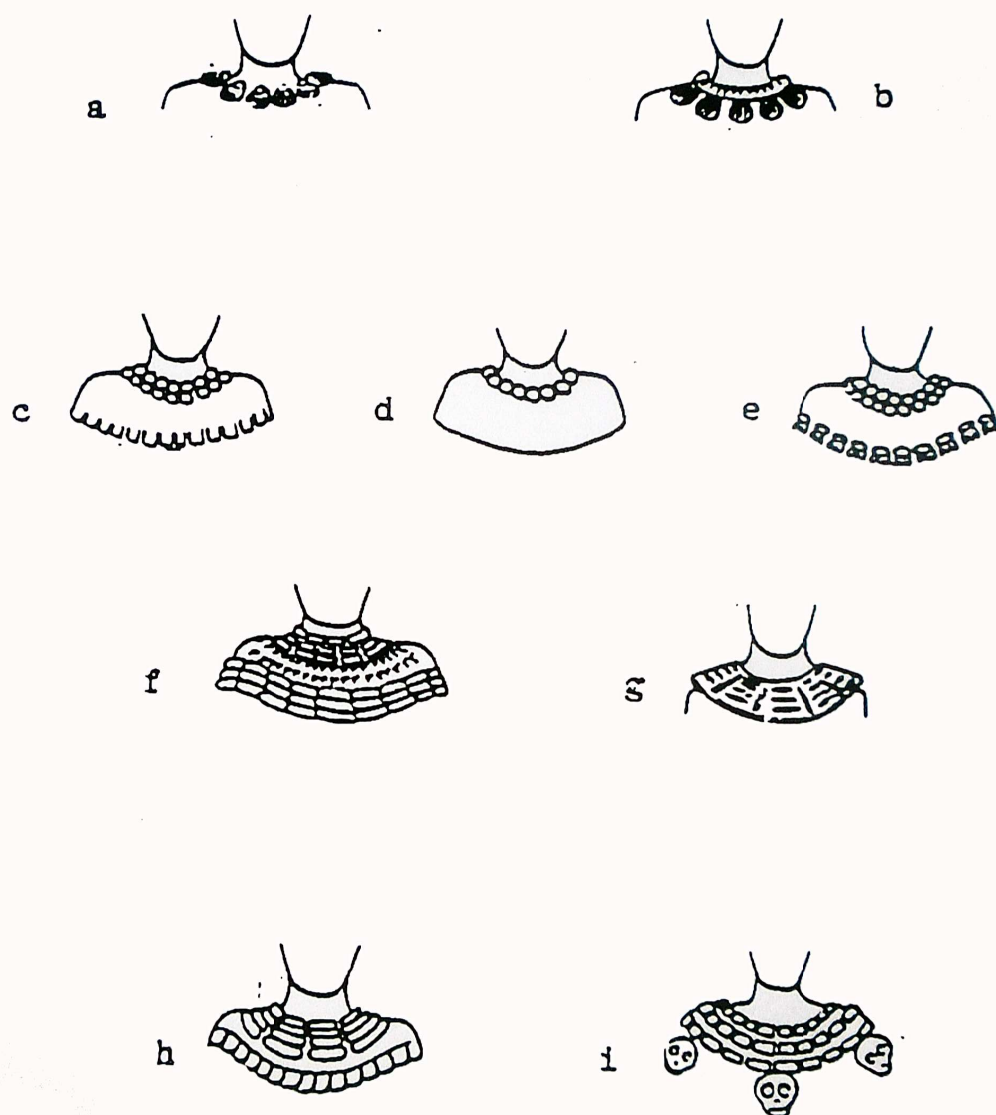


fig.22 a.-b. Teotihuacan
Shell Necklaces

e.-i. Teotihuacan
Bead Necklaces

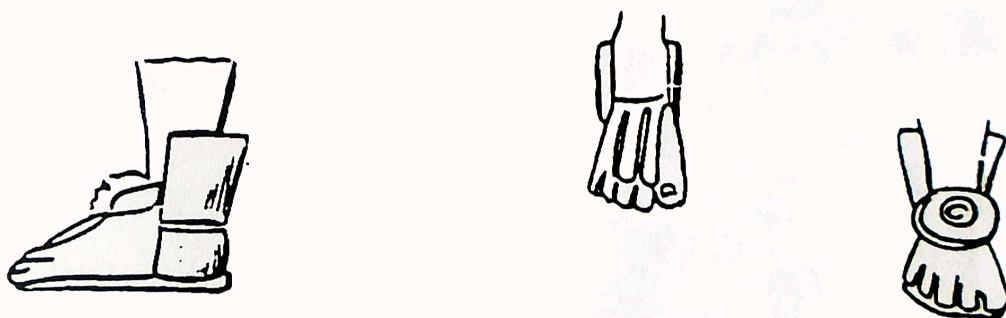


fig.23 Teotihuacan
Sandals

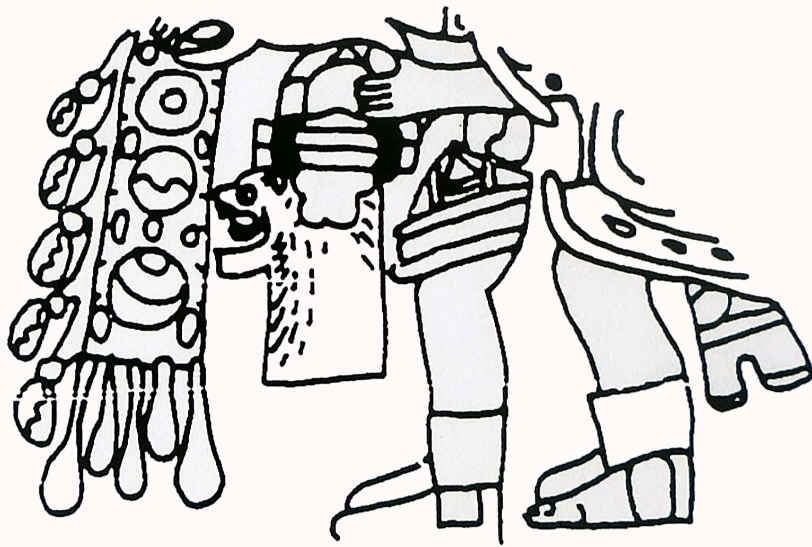


fig.24 Teotihuacan Hand
Accessories

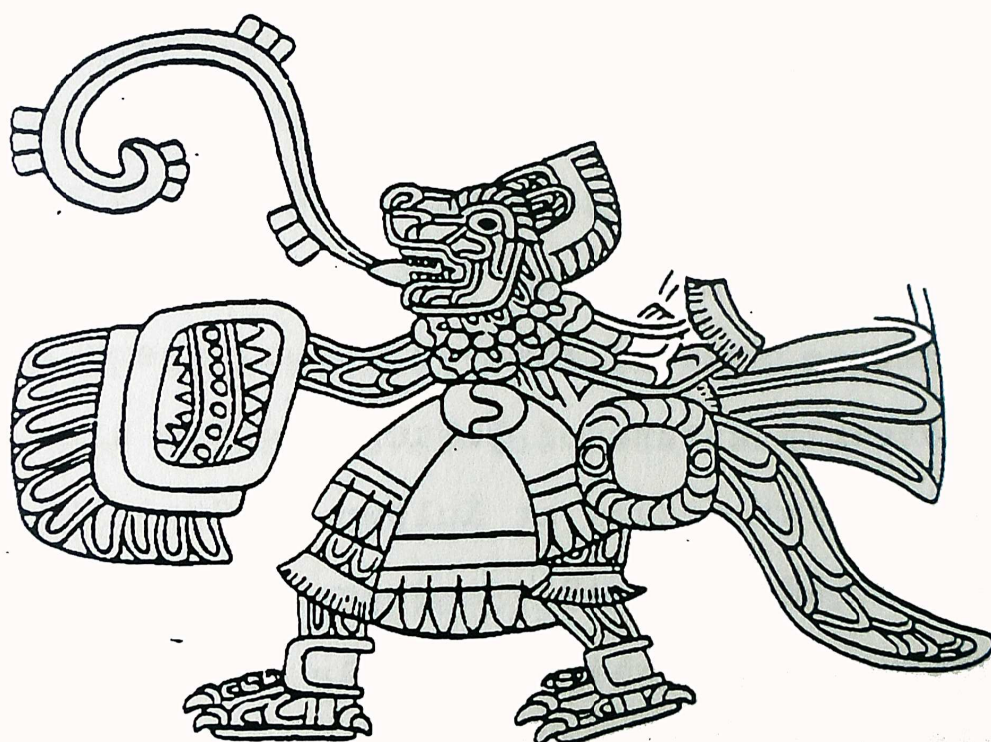


fig.25 Teotihuacan Deity
Impersonator in
Jaguar Costume

Mexicans around 8.17.1.0.0 or A.D. 376 (pls. 29,30 and 35). Eventually, the Maya interpreted back devices as combinations of masks and featherwork (pls. 101,116,137, 174,190,193-195).

IV. The Peten: Early Baktun 9

At the beginning of the Classic Period, Tikal and cities in the southern Peten shared costume elements (hip-cloths, ceremonial bars and head dress motifs) that are not found on northern sculptures at Uaxactun or Xultun. These articles begin to appear, however, at northern centers during the early katuns of Baktun 9. The hip-cloth, for example, first occurs at Xultun on Stela 20, dated 9.0.0.0.0, A.D. 434 (pl. 48), and again at Uaxactun on the Altar of Structure V, which probably belonged with Stela 26 on 9.0.10.0.0 (Proskouriakoff 1950:106). By 9.3.0.0.0 (A.D. 494), Uaxactun had adopted the ceremonial bar and chin maskette for the helmet (pl. 59), motifs heretofore used only at Tikal and centers in the southern Peten. On the basis of the evidence, Tikal seems to have become the fashion center of the Peten by the beginning of Baktun 9.

It is my belief that Tikal began to dominate Peten costume as a result of Mexican influence. Tikal was apparently the focus of Mexican contacts with the Peten toward the end of Baktun 8, and accepted a foreign ruler

(Curl Nose) to the throne (Coggins 1975:1:100). Subsequently, most sculptures with Mexican dress motifs are found at Tikal (Stelae 4, 18, 31 and 32) and southern cities (El Zapote, Yaxha, Tres Islas). In the northern Peten, the Mexican warrior from Uaxactun (Stela 5) predates the accession of Curl Nose by approximately a year (8.17.1.4.12), but the text ends with the Tikal emblem glyph. This date also occurs at Tikal (Stela 31) and must, therefore, have some historical meaning, perhaps the arrival of Mexicans in the Peten. Stela 5 may even portray Curl Nose himself, a ruler later shown at Tikal carrying the headdress of the Teotihuacan war god, Tlaloc B, on Stela 18 (pl. 31).

The first two katuns of Baktun 9 represent a transitional period when some new motifs resemble costume elements from Mexico, but Maya dress relies more upon traditional articles from late Baktun 8. Substantial changes are apparent in sculptural compositions, including frontal and strict profile views of the human form, and at Tikal and El Zapote, figural programs using two or three sides of the stela shaft. These innovations reflect painted murals and ceramics from Teotihuacan (Kubler 1967:10; Pasztory 1978:116-117), as well as wall paintings from Tombs 104 and 105 at Monte Alban. Not surprisingly, profile and frontal views of the human figure were anticipated at Tikal during the reign of Curl Nose (pls. 30,

31 and 36), but the presentation of royal couples (pls. 46-47) and triptych programs that wrap a single figure around the sides of a stela (pls. 43 and 44) do not appear until the beginning of Baktun 9.

A. Tikal

From 9.0.0.0.0-9.2.0.0.0 (A.D. 434-474), four sculptures at Tikal are thought to portray a ruler called Stormy Sky who was the son of Curl Nose, including Stelae 1, 2, 28 and 31 (Coggins 1975:I:185-186). The nominal compound for this ruler has two signs, the glyph for God K and a sky glyph. A similar compound, having a bone sign followed by the sky sign, occurs in the text to the Leyden Plaque. Thus, the sky glyph was probably a family name or dynastic emblem at Tikal and the God K sign something closer to the personal name for the early Baktun 9 ruler of Tikal.⁵

Stela 31 (9.0.10.0.0 or A.D. 444) was carved on all four sides, depicting a central portrait of Stormy Sky, soldiers to the right and left, and there is a long text on the back. Much of Tikal's early history has been

⁵ In naming this man Stormy Sky, Clemency Coggins (1975:I:185-186) confused the glyph for God K with that of Chac, a god of rain, storm and lightning. The Tikal ruler on Stelae 1, 2, 28 and 31 really ought to be called "God K - Sky." Other writers have carefully separated the glyphs for God K and the rain deity (Spinden 1913:50-53; Morley and Brainerd 1956:196; Schellhas 1904:16-19, and 32-34; Thompson 1970:224-227).

gleaned from this inscription, because it has ancestral passages referring to Jaguar Paw and the reign of Curl Nose during late Baktun 8. Although the warriors on the sides of Stela 31 wear Mexican dress motifs (platelet headgear, square shields, back devices and spear throwers), the costumes have no parallels at Teotihuacan or Monte Alban (pls. 38 and 39). In other words, the various elements are Mexican, but their combination is Maya. Short inscriptions above the two soldiers may identify them as ancestral portraits of Curl Nose.

The central figure of Stormy Sky on Stela 31 (pl. 37) has an archaistic costume. It revives Tikal motifs from Stela 29 (8.12.14.8.15) as well as the skewed profile characteristic of late Baktun 8. The foliated nose plug, helmet with bone symbols and bracket chin ornament occur on both sculptures, and in addition, the Tikal emblem head suspended from the helmet chin guard on Stela 29 appears in the crook of the elbow on Stela 31 (pls. 11 and 37). In other respects, Stela 31 uses articles typical of late Baktun 8, such as the long necklace, decorated belt and pendant chain. Only the wristlet chain suggests an adaptation to falling hand accessories at Teotihuacan. The emphatic contrast between the old-fashioned portrayal of Stormy Sky and the two soldiers wearing Mexican articles of dress suggests that Stela 31 was a conscious attempt, on the part of Stormy Sky, to

affirm his dual ancestry (Coggins 1975:I:185-187).

Proskouriakoff observed (1950:106) that monuments erected in the early katuns of Baktun 9 reveal an attention to small details, such that the sculptures almost have a jeweled quality. This is particularly true of Tikal (pls. 37-45). I suspect that the precision in the carving reflects elements from the minor arts. For example, the helmet on Stela 31 (pl. 37) includes a back frame representing the cage glyph (T193) that occurs elsewhere only on the Leyden Plaque during late Baktun 8 (pl. 12). Similarly, chin maskettes become common on stelae after 9.0.0.0.0, A.D. 434 (pls. 37, 43-44, 59 and 62), while they primarily appear on small objects in Baktun 8 (pls. 12, 18, 20 and 21). There is, then, some reason to believe that early Baktun 9 sculptors borrowed motifs from the minor arts.

Stela 31 is the first monument of the Classic Period to display large figures on three sides of the sculpture. A similar approach to carving occurs on Stelae 1, 2 and 28 (pls. 43-45). Each monument depicts only a single figure, but the image is wrapped around the front and sides of the shaft. In the Peten, the concept of wrapping a figure around the sides of a stela is not found anywhere else but at Tikal. Related sculptures at Uaxactun and El Peru (pls. 59 and 62) confine the principal figure to the central plane, with texts or small figures

on the sides. While this may not seem a significant distinction, it becomes important in the consideration of stelae erected outside the core zone.

Stelae 1, 2 and 28 are undated but are thought to portray Stormy Sky (Coggins 1975:I:186). They are similar to one another in their dress and composition, and close to Stela 31 in the detail of their execution (pls. 43-45). As a group, Stelae 1, 2 and 28 are visibly no later than monuments erected after 3.2.0.0.0 (pls. 49-51). Although Coggins believes (1975:I:186) that portrayals of rulers with ceremonial bars were posthumous, there is no evidence for this practice. I see no reason why the Tikal group should be dated later than the time of Stormy Sky's death on 9.1.1.10.10 (A.D. 455). Indeed, a nearly identical composition was probably carved on Stela 26 at Uaxactun on 9.0.10.0.0 (Proskouriakoff 1950:107). These monuments attempt to render the figure in frontal view by turning the upper torso so the arms, shoulders and ceremonial bars are parallel to the foreground. Since the Tikal sculptures are fragmentary, their dress motifs will be discussed together.

What immediately strikes the eye in looking at the three figures are the featherwork back devices that fan outward from the shoulders onto the sides of the stelae (pls. 43-45). They are obviously based upon Mexican back devices, and their lateral spread recalls frontal figures

on Teotihuacan murals. Small clusters of plumes in the helmets may have been placed on both sides of the headgear, as they were at Teotihuacan, as well as on Curl Nose during Baktun 8 (pl. 30). The beaded network over the hip-cloth (pl. 43) perhaps imitates woven motifs from Mexico. Other features on Stelae 1 and 2 are similar to Stela 31, and help assign these sculptures to early Baktun 9, including the wristlet chain, square ligatures on the arms and legs, the decorated belt, and most importantly, the helmet headgear. These articles do not appear at Tikal after 9.2.0.0.0, A.D. 474 (pls. 49-51).

B. The Southern Peten

1. El Zapote

Stela 5 from El Zapote is the earliest known representation of a royal couple, carved on the front and back sides of the monument (pls. 46 and 47). The narrow sides of the shaft carry an inscription with the date 9.0.0.0.0 (A.D. 434). The woman (pl. 46) probably came from Tikal, because her accessory box depicts a small, reclining figure of God K (Marcus 1976:39-41). God K was, of course, the namesake of Stormy Sky, and similar God K glyphs appear at Tikal in the text to Stela 1, as well as on the belt of Stela 2 (pl. 44). Joyce Marcus (1976:41) believes that the marriage of the Tikal woman to a local chieftain made El Zapote a dependency of Tikal.

Further evidence of such an alliance comes from the anthropomorphic head carried by the husband (pl. 47). Although partly destroyed, it is the Tikal emblem head shown on the chin guard of Stela 29 at Tikal and in the crook of Stormy Sky's elbow on Stela 31 (pls. 11 and 37).

The costumes worn by the El Zapote couple presage important changes in Maya dress. Neither figure can boast the attention to detail found at Tikal; nor is there much use of featherwork, except for a cluster of plumes in the female helmet (pl. 46). On the other hand, the necklaces are much shorter than those worn during the late Baktun 8. The woman wears a maskette choker and the man a beaded collar (pls. 46 and 47). A maskette choker also appears on Stormy Sky at Tikal, although it is almost obscured by the ceremonial bar (pl. 44). At El Zapote, the recognition of these necklaces as adaptations to Mexican collars (fig. 22) is particularly strong because they are worn over cloth shoulderpieces. The woman has adopted the Mexican quexquemiltl, and her husband has a garment that resembles the shoulderpiece with tabbed arm slits worn by Curl Nose (pl. 30) and related figures from Teotihuacan (figs. 27 and 28). In summary, the costumes worn by the El Zapote couple anticipate Classic Maya dress after 9.2.0.0.0 (A.D. 474).

2. Yaxha

Stela 2 from Yaxha (Maler 1908-10:Pl.15,no.2) is undated, and at first glance, it resembles late Baktun 8 portrayals of rulers with ceremonial bars. Yet, the figural stance is not the distorted profile characteristic of early figures, but an attempt to render the figure in strict profile, similar to the warriors on the sides of Stela 31 at Tikal (pls. 38 and 39) and the royal couple of El Zapote (pls. 46 and 47). The helmet also has a chin maskette, like Baktun 9 stelae at Tikal (pls. 43-45), and the beaded collar is identical to that of the man on Stela 5 at El Zapote (pl. 47). More important, the pendant chain hanging from the belt of the Yaxha figure terminates in a maskette representing the Tikal emblem head, and a 7-kan head appears at the feet. At Tikal, Stormy Sky stands on both glyphic heads on Stela 28 (pl. 45). Stela 2 thus belongs to the first two katuns of Baktun 9, and the costume imitates articles of dress from Tikal.

3. Tres Islas and Altar de Sacrificios

The earliest dated sculptures outside the core zone are glyphic panels from Altar de Sacrificios, including Stela 10 (9.1.10.0.0, A.D. 464) and Stela 11 (9.2.0.0.0, A.D. 474) from the Pasion district of the Peten (J. Graham 1972:39-47). Undated monuments at a neighboring

center, Tres Islas, may also belong to early Baktun 9 because the costumes reflect adaptations to Mexican dress motifs associated with the reign of Stormy Sky at Tikal. The warrior figure (pl. 57) is particularly close to the soldiers on the sides of Stela 31 from Tikal (pls. 38 and 39), while the other Tres Islas stela includes such articles as a turban with a Mexican trapeze-and-ray sign, featherwork back device and accessory pouch (pl. 58). The feathered back ornaments are typical of sculptures portraying Stormy Sky (pls. 43 and 44), while the bag appears at Kultun on 9.0.0.0.0, A.D. 434 (pl. 48), and the turban with a trapeze-and-ray sign is found on Tikal ceramics from Burial 10 around 8.19.10.0.0, A.D. 425 (Coggins 1975:II: Fig.54a).

C. The Northern Peten

1. Uaxactun

Early Baktun 9 monuments from Uaxactun are poorly preserved, but they clearly reveal that the northern Peten had begun to adopt dress motifs previously found only at Tikal and centers in the south, such as the hip-cloth and ceremonial bar. Stela 26, dated 9.0.10.0.0 or A.D. 444, was intentionally defaced in ancient times, but apparently resembled Stelae 1, 2 and 28 from Tikal (Proskouriakoff 1950:107). The Altar of Structure A-V, which probably belonged with Stela 26, preserves a seated male wearing

a hip-cloth with a beaded fringe (Proskouriakoff ibid: Fig. 39e). Later stelae from Uaxactun around 9.3.0.0.0 (A.D. 494) continue the kind of figural composition found on Stela 26 and the Tikal group associated with Stormy Sky (pls. 59 and 61).

2. Xultun

Stela 20, dated 9.0.0.0.0 (A.D. 434), affirms the spread of southern elements into the northern part of the core area (pl. 48). In addition to the jaguar hip-cloth, like the one worn by Stormy Sky on Stela 28 (pl. 45), we also find adaptations to Mexican motifs. The Xultun figure has a falling wristlet chain, shown at Tikal on Stela 31 (pl. 37). The accessory bag does not appear at Tikal on ceramics or sculptures until 9.2.0.0.0, A.D. 474 (pl. 50), but it obviously recalls Mexican pouches (fig. 24). A back device may also be worn by the Xultun figure (pl. 48). Lastly, the ground line design representing a reptilian head parallels those of Stelae 1, 2 and 28 at Tikal (pls. 43-45). Since Stela 20 predates Tikal monuments depicting Stormy Sky by at least ten years, one might question the direction of influence were it not for the hip-cloth so characteristic of the southern Peten during late Baktun 8.

D. Summary: The Peten (9.0.0.0.0-9.2.0.0.0)

There is good reason to believe that the presentation of two or more figures on a single monument, as well as the use of strict profile and frontal views, was stimulated by Mexican practices of ceramic and mural decoration (Kubler 1967:10; Coggins 1975:I:182-184; Pasztory 1978:116-117). During late Baktun 8, Maya rulers are typically shown as isolated figures in a kind of skewed profile. The wall paintings and ceramics of Mexico illustrate figural groups, as frontal and profile images, in what appear to be ceremonies or ritual processions. At Tikal, the reign of Stormy Sky (8.19.10.0.0-9.1.1.10.10, A.D. 425-455), is characterized by triptych programs (Stelae 1, 2, 28 and 31) that recall Teotihuacan palace murals and tomb paintings from Monte Alban where a frontal image is flanked by profile attendants. Stela 5 from El Zapote is compositionally related to the Tikal series in depicting profiles of a royal couple.

The attention to detail in the carving of early Baktun 9 sculptures, particularly those at Tikal, resembles small scale workmanship in the minor arts. I have suggested that sculptors actually borrowed motifs from portable objects. This is difficult to prove, because small products rarely carry dates. I can only note that particular elements such as the cage glyph backframe and chin maskette seem to have been transferred from the

minor arts to monumental carving at the beginning of Baktun 9. Similarly, Stela 31 at Tikal (9.0.10.0.0, A.D. 444) marks the first appearance of mosaic platelet warrior headgear in sculpture (pls. 38 and 39), but the same kind of head dress occurs on Tikal ceramics around 8.19.10.0.0, A.D. 425 (Coggins 1975:II:Fig.56a).

With regard to costume, early Baktun 9 monuments represent a transitional mode of dress. Many features from Baktun 8 continued to be used, coupled with some adaptations to Mexican articles, including back devices, feathers in headgear, the feminine quexquemiltl and its masculine counterpart, falling hand accessories and small bags. New types of costumes are related to deity impersonation and warfare (pls. 32, 38 and 39). Insofar as there exists a uniform tradition in the Peten at the beginning of Baktun 9, it was dominated by Tikal where Mexican influence was strongest. Other centers with monuments assigned to this period (9.0.0.0.0-9.2.0.0.0, A.D. 434-474) imitated the figural programs, native dress motifs and Mexican adaptations of Stormy Sky's reign at Tikal.

CHAPTER THREE: THE MIDDLE CLASSIC (9.2.0.0.0-9.13.0.0.0)

It has been customary to divide the Classic Period into Early and Late epochs separated by a sudden decrease in the erection of monuments from 9.5.0.0.0-9.8.0.0.0 (A.D. 533-592). Although many writers have commented upon this hiatus in carving, we are not much closer to understanding it than when Sylvanus Morley (1938-39:IV:333) recognized a drop in the number of monuments. Proskouriakoff (1950:111-112) perceived the absence of sculptures as symptomatic of less tangible ills that precipitated a crisis in Maya society. In the aftermath, she saw changes in the formal properties of Classic sculpture, as well as in the character of monumental expressions. Proskouriakoff supported her research with the results of excavations at Uaxactun (A. L. Smith 1950), where changes in ceramics and masonry techniques seemed to belong to the same period.

Some writers now attribute the hiatus to political disturbances in Mexico, and particularly the decline and fall of Teotihuacan around 9.9.0.0.0. A.D. 612 (Parsons 1969; Rathje 1973; Webb 1973; Willey 1974; Coggins 1975; Pasztory 1978). For the most part, these authors feel that Tikal virtually controlled the development of the Peten, but could not sustain its dominant position without Teotihuacan. Gordon Willey (1974), the most articulate

exponent of this viewpoint, believes that the hiatus was caused by a trade failure between the Peten and central Mexico. He recognizes the possibility of internal pressures among the Maya from population growth, rival dynasties and food shortages, but stresses the dependency of Peten centers upon foreign trade. Correspondingly, it is generally assumed that the florescence of circum-Peten regions after 9.8.0.0.0 (A.D. 592) stemmed from a vacuum of power in the core zone during the hiatus (Rathje 1973; Willey 1974; Pasztory 1978). Circum-Peten cities presumably established trade contacts with peripheral centers in Mexico.

Regardless of the political implications, it is difficult to regard the hiatus as a genuine break in the development of Maya art. There was, to be sure, a decline in stela production, but most changes in the Late Classic were anticipated or present in the Early Classic. Proskouriakoff (1950:111), for example, discusses what she considered an important shift in the placement of feet from profile views to open toes during the hiatus and later. Yet, she mentions the late position in connection with Stela 20 at Uaxactun (9.3.0.0.0?). Likewise, all of the common subjects on late sculptures (warriors, impersonators, rulers with ceremonial bars) were already established by 9.5.0.0.0 (A.D. 533), and at Yaxchilan, the scattering gesture on Stela 27 (9.4.0.0.0) prefigures

active postures of the Late Classic.

As for ceramics, the combined excavations of Uaxactun, Tikal, Altar de Sacrificios and Seibal reveal that the change from Tzakol to Tepeu sequences was a gradual process such that differences in their phases - Tzakol 1, 2, 3, and Tepeu 1, 2, 3, - are matters of degree (Willey et al. 1967). From the vantage point of both sequences, Tzakol and Tepeu have distinct vessel shapes, but as late as 9.12.0.0.0 (A.D. 671), some Tepeu vases preserve constructional features of Tzakol. Similarly, the two sequences reflect a transition from isolated motifs on Tzakol vessels to geometric patterns and figural scenes in Tepeu. Nonetheless, the kind of narrative episode that became typical of Tepeu was preceded by compositions on Tzakol wares after 9.0.0.0.0, A.D. 434 (Kidder et al. 1946:Figs. 204-205; R. E. Smith 1955:II:Figs. 1a,b and 22j'; Coggins 1975:II:Figs. 51b, 57b, 61b, 67c).⁶

In view of the evidence, there is reason to acknowledge the Middle Classic Period suggested by recent authors (Pasztor 1978; Coggins 1979) from approximately 9.2.0.0.0 to 9.13.0.0.0 (A.D. 474-691). This era spans whatever problems led to the hiatus, and their eventual

⁶ At Uaxactun, R. E. Smith (1955:I:106-107) chose the date 9.8.0.0.0 as the dividing line between Tzakol and Tepeu on the basis of sherds associated with stelae erected from 9.3.0.0.0-9.9.0.0.0. The more rigorous excavations of Tikal, Altar de Sacrificios and Seibal indicate that the separation is closer to 9.6.0.0.0 (Willey et al. 1967:Figs. 1 and 10).

resolution. More important, the Middle Classic corresponds to the growth of circum-Peten regions and regional types of dress. The earliest monuments outside the Peten are found in the southeast at Copan and Quirigua around 9.2.0.0.0 (A.D. 474). Subsequently, dated sculptures occur in the northern and western lowlands at Yaxchilan, Bonampak, Piedras Negras, Coba, Tulum and Calakmul. Circum-Peten cities borrowed motifs from the core area, specifically from Tikal, but the very earliest monuments exhibit peculiarities that become regional traits. The development of regional types of dress ended around 9.13.0.0.0 (Proskouriakoff 1950:123-124).

I. The Peten

A. Masculine Formal Dress

1. Tikal

The death of Stormy Sky was followed by the reigns of two rulers (Kan Boar and Claw Skull) who either succeeded one another in rapid order or held the throne together as co-regents from 9.2.0.0.0 to 9.4.0.0.0, A.D. 474-513 (Coggins 1975,1979). Probable parentage statements on Stelae 3 and 7 indicate that Claw Skull was the son of Kan Boar. According to Coggins (1975,1979), the reigns of the two men represent a period of relative isolation at Tikal coupled with a consolidation of Mexican ideas. The costumes support this view. They are simpler than the

regalia of Stormy Sky, yet long after the arrival of Curl Nose and his followers, the monuments reveal further adaptations to Mexican dress. It is significant that Proskouriakoff (1950:107) saw on these sculptures "typical traits that were to be developed during the subsequent period." The costumes worn by Kan Boar and Claw Skull anticipate formal dress throughout the Maya lowlands.

Some of Tikal's adaptations to Mexican dress around 9.2.0.0.0 (A.D. 474) were preceded on monuments from the first two katuns of Baktun 9, but they acquire fuller expression during the reigns of Kan Boar and Claw Skull. Back devices were worn, for example, by Stormy Sky (pls. 43 and 44); choker necklaces, beaded collars and cloth shoulderpieces occur at El Zapote and Tikal (pls. 44, 46 and 47). After 9.2.0.0.0, Tikal began to combine these features with capes, accessory bags, sandals with heel-guards, and headdresses using turbans, masks and feathers (pls. 49-56). As a group, these stelae portraying Kan Boar and Claw Skull mark a radical change in Maya costume. Such traditional features as helmet headgear, sandals with loops over the instep and pendant chains attached to the belt were abandoned in favor of dress motifs that recall costumes at Teotihuacan and Monte Alban.

The dynastic sequence for Tikal seems unclear after 9.4.0.0.0 (A.D. 513). The inscriptions are fragmentary, and few monuments were erected until the accession of

Ruler A (9.12.9.17.16). Fortunately, the costumes largely reveal internal developments in the dress of Kan Boar and Claw Skull, including such elements as feathered headdresses and back devices, cloth shoulderpieces, and beaded collars (pls. 62, 67 and 69). Stela 17 probably also has an abbreviated form of the triplicate staff shown with Claw Skull (pls. 51, 56 and 69). Essentially the same costume, including the triplicate staff, is worn by Ruler A on 9.13.0.0.0, A.D. 691 (pl. 190). In summary, Tikal costume exhibits fairly uniform traits during the Middle Classic. The motifs worn by Kan Boar and Claw Skull were revived and redefined on later sculptures. Not until after 9.13.0.0.0 do seemingly new elements appear in Tikal dress.

The innovations of Tikal around 9.2.0.0.0 (A.D. 474) were not immediately followed by other centers in the Peten. At the beginning of the Middle Classic, the monuments of Yaxha, Altar de Sacrificios and Uaxactun retain many early features such as helmet headgear, looped sandals and pendant chains attached to the belt. They also include motifs introduced at Tikal during the reigns of Kan Boar and Claw Skull. The retention of traditional Early Classic elements is what I would expect at provincial centers that, at one and the same time, were attracted to the fashions of Tikal, but unable, for reasons of geographic distance or taste, to abandon tradition. Thus, until around 9.8.0.0.0 (A.D. 592), provincial sculptures

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either preserve the past entirely or mix traditional elements with new motifs that have precedents at Tikal.

2. Uaxactun and El Peru

Stela 26 from Uaxactun (9.0.10.0.0, A.D. 444) is almost completely eroded, but probably depicted a frontal figure in a costume similar to the regalia of Stormy Sky during the first two katuns of Baktun 9 (pls. 43 and 44). The same kind of program continued to be used at Uaxactun for Stelae 3 and 20 with dates from 9.3.0.0.0-9.3.15.0.0, A.D. 495-508 (pls. 59 and 61). It is my guess that the undated Stela C at El Peru, due west of Tikal, is close in time, because in addition to the costume, the outward position of the feet is like that found on Stela 20 at Uaxactun (pls. 59 and 62).

3. The Pasion District: Altar de Sacrificios, Tres Islas and Arollo de Piedra

I have suggested that undated stelae from Tres Islas (pls. 57 and 58) belong to the first two katuns of Baktun 9 because of their similarities to Stela 31 at Tikal. Given the tendency of provincial centers to retain early traits, the Tres Islas figures may be somewhat later. Another center active in the Pasion district was Altar de Sacrificios with glyphic panels around 9.2.0.0.0 (A.D. 474), and figural sculptures beginning around 9.4.0.0.0, A.D. 513 (Stelae 12 and 13). Both of these figures

preserve the skewed profile and helmet headgear of the Early Classic, but they also have choker necklaces, and perhaps, shoulderpieces like those introduced at Tikal on 9.2.0.0.0 (J. Graham 1972:Figs. 33 and 43). By 9.10.0.0.0 (A.D. 632), Stela 9 at Altar de Sacrificios is comparable to other centers in the Peten in the use of feathered mask headgear, collarpiece and ceremonial bar (J. Graham *ibid*:Fig. 23). Similarly, at the center of Arollo de Piedra, near Dos Pilas, Stela 1 on 9.9.0.0.0 (A.D. 602) retains the helmet headgear of the Early Classic, but other elements of the costume such as the textile shoulderpiece with beaded collar, back device, staff and profile stance, resemble Tikal costume after 9.3.0.0.0 (pls. 13 and 51-55).

4. Yaxha

Stelae 4 and 6 at Yaxha (Maler 1908-10:Pl. 16, no. 1 and Pl. 17, no. 1) are probably contemporary to Tikal monuments erected from 9.2.0.0.0 to 9.4.0.0.0 (pls. 51 and 56). The back devices of Stelae 4 and 6 closely resemble the Tikal group, and Stela 6 also has a beaded collar and triplicate staff. In other respects, these sculptures are tied to the past. They continue to show helmets with maskettes under the chin, pendant chains on the belt, and sandals with vertical loops over the instep, all of which were abandoned at Tikal on 9.2.0.0.0 (A.D. 474). Proskouriakoff (1950:107-108) considered Stelae 4 and 6 as

belonging to the first quarter of Baktun 9, but was reluctant to date them more precisely because of the persistence of Baktun 8 traits.

5. Caracol

The tendency to retain Early Classic dress motifs is again apparent on monuments at Caracol. Stela 16, 9.5.0.0.0 (A.D. 533), illustrates a number of features which combine traits from late Baktun 8 and early Baktun 9 in the central Peten, including the skewed profile stance, high position of the ceremonial bar, wrist and ankle ornaments, belt with crossed band and disk, helmet with chin guard and tied knots, and the curving lines of the hip-cloth (pl. 14). The two masks on either side of the feet are attached to wooden frames or paper constructions suspended from the ends of the ceremonial bar, a motif that specifically recalls Stelae 1, 2, and 28 at Tikal (pls. 43-45).

Similar Early Classic elements, such as helmet headgear, wristlet and anklet plaques, belts with crossed bands and disks, ceremonial bars with suspended masks, and sandals with ankle straps and loops over the instep of the foot, are typical of later Caracol monuments from 9.6.0.0.0 to 9.11.0.0.0 (A.D. 553-652), including Stelae 1, 3, 5, 6 and 14 (pls. 79-82 and 84). There are also features which seem to have been borrowed from the minor arts.

On Stelae 5 and 6, for example, beaded diadems are placed over the central mask of the helmet (pls. 82 and 84). Such diadems are shown on Early Classic cache vessels (pl. 18).

Curiously, the Caracol sequence also includes motifs that occur later at other centers. On Stela 14, dated 9.6.0.0.0 (A.D. 553), the enthroned figure represents a new kind of composition (pl. 81), next shown at Tikal on the wooden boards from Burial 195 around 9.8.0.0.0 or A.D. 592 (pl. 70). The figure on the front of Stela 6, dated 9.8.10.0.0 or A.D. 602 (pl. 82), wears the long necklace which became characteristic of Coba in the northern lowlands after 9.9.0.0.0 (pls. 88 and 89). The epaulettes on the shoulders occur at Calakmul after 9.9.0.0.0 (pls. 82, 96 and 257-259). Lastly, the figure on the back of Stela 6 carries an obsidian or flint axe (pl. 83), of the type shown on Tepeu 2 ceramics, as well as occasionally on later monuments at Tikal and Edzna (pls. 106-107, 192 and 200). The shortened form of the ceremonial bar (pl. 83) occurs next at Altar de Sacrificios on Stela 1 (9.11.0.0.0). In summary, despite a predilection for old-fashioned motifs in Caracol costume, it would be wrong to regard this city as isolated from developments at other centers.

6. Naranjo

Around 9.8.0.0.0 (A.D. 592), Naranjo erected several monuments reminiscent of Tikal stelae portraying Claw

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Skull from 9.3.0.0.0 to 9.4.0.0.0, A.D. 494-513 (pls. 51-56). Stela 38, dated 9.8.0.0.0 (pl. 71), is particularly close to the Claw Skull group in the rendering of the headdress, beaded collar and triplicate staff. Stela 27 is fragmentary, but preserves an accessory bag similar to those carried by Claw Skull (pl. 72). No dates are available for Stelae 16 and 17 (pls. 73 and 75), but I suspect they were archaistic revivals erected toward the end of the Middle Classic. They mix the cape, worn by only Kan Boar at Tikal (pls. 49 and 50), with the triplicate staff peculiar to Claw Skull (pls. 51 and 56). This kind of mixture of old motifs from different periods is typical of attempts to revive the past. Nonetheless, the monuments of Naranjo more closely reflect developments at Tikal than do those of Yaxha and Caracol.

7. Xultun

Revivals appear again at Xultun towards the close of the Middle Classic. On Stela 18, style dated 9.12.0.0.0 ±?, A.D. 671± (Proskouriakoff 1950:198), the helmet with chin maskette, high position of the ceremonial bar, and figural stance recall Stormy Sky's reign at Tikal, but cuff bracelets and collars with medallions do not occur until after 9.8.0.0.0 (pl. 76). In addition, the treatment of the belt is closer to belts at Palenque around 9.14.0.0.0, A.D. 710 (pls. 115 and 115) than any configuration of the Middle Classic.

Stela 2 from Xultun, dated 9.13.0.0.0, A.D. 691 (pl. 224) is another revival, in this case related to the triplicate staff costumes worn at Tikal around 9.3.0.0.0. A.D. 494 (pls. 51-56) and again at Naranj, and Tikal from 9.6.0.0.0-9.8.0.0.0, A.D. 553-593 (pls. 69 and 71). Stelae 4 and 5 at Xultun, dated 9.11.0.0.0 and 9.12.0.0.0 respectively (A.D. 651 and 671), are more representative of contemporary trends in the Peten, but even here small figures in the hand and crook of the elbow recall accessories from the Early Classic (pls. 77 and 78). Two new motifs are the mask panel on the apron and sandals with tassels over the instep. It is difficult to trace the origins of these elements, but they are typical of Late Classic dress.

B. Feminine Regalia

Women assumed greater importance in Maya society after 9.5.0.0.0 (A.D. 533), and are frequently depicted on sculptures, vase paintings and figurines. The monuments indicate that most females were royal women who married rulers from other families. Like their male counterparts, these females have titles of high rank in texts and often carry insignia of rulership, such as the ceremonial bar and manikin scepter representing God K. In addition, there are instances where a woman seems to have been, at least for a short time, the sole ruler of a city. The latter probably represent occasions when a female held the throne.

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after the death of her husband or the status of the male was sufficiently low for the power of the dynasty to pass through the female line.

1. Tikal

Following the reign of Claw Skull (9.2.13.0.0-9.4.0.0.0, A.D. 487-513), the throne is believed to have passed to a female called the Woman of Tikal (Coggins 1975:I:220). It is known that she was born on 9.3.9.13.3 (Stela 23), and later married a man who is portrayed on Stela 25 (9.4.3.0.0, A.D. 516). The husband was probably of lesser rank than his wife, because ancestral clauses on Stela 26 trace the descent of the Woman of Tikal through the Jaguar Paw family, including Stormy Sky and Kan Boar. She may have been the daughter of Kan Boar (Coggins 1975:I:220), and therefore, a younger sister of Claw Skull. Since the texts to Stelae 23 and 25 are fragmentary, their dedicatory dates are not known.⁷

⁷ The dynastic sequence for Tikal proposed by Clemency Coggins (1975) encounters difficulties after 9.4.0.0.0 (A.D. 513). According to Coggins (1975:I:221), Stelae 23 and 25 were erected by the Son of Woman of Tikal in order to justify his own reign. She further argues that the Son appears on the undated and fragmentary Stela 26 around 9.6.0.0.0 (A.D. 553), followed by the ruler of Stela 17 on 9.8.0.0.0 (A.D. 592). Stela 17 has three texts, of which two preserve dates of 9.5.3.9.15 and 9.6.3.9.15. Coggins assumes that the third was 9.7.3.9.15. An earlier position (9.4.3.9.15) would be equally tenable, and in fact, this seems to have been the date. The placement of Stelae 17 and 26 with respect to one another comes from texts on the Lintels of Structure 12 at Yaxchilan. These glyphic panels

Stelae 23 and 25 revive the triptych programs of Stelae 1, 2, 28 and 31 in what was surely a conscious effort to imitate the reign of Stormy Sky during the first two katuns of Baktun 9. The Woman of Tikal, unhappily almost destroyed, appears in frontal view on the front of Stela 23 flanked by youthful figures of her children (pls. 63 and 64). Stela 25 depicts the husband framed by profiles of his wife and son (pls. 65 and 66). In identifying these figures, Coggins (1975:I:221-222) observes several archais-tic traits in the costumes of the Woman of Tikal. On Stela 23 (pl. 63), she wears a choker of beads, and beneath it, a string of shells that resembles Mexican necklaces from Teotihuacan (fig. 22), as well as shell

constitute a dynasty list that goes back to Baktun 8 and can be securely traced from 9.0.19.2.4 to 9.7.15.5.6 (Mathews 1980MS). More important, several Yaxchilan rulers are associated with rulers at other centers, including Tikal. Lintel 37 names the same ruler mentioned at Tikal on Stela 26 as regent on 9.6.6.7.19. This means that the latest recorded date on Stela 17 (9.6.3.9.15) is close to the time of its dedication. In summary, the man on Stela 17 was probably born around 9.4.3.9.15, and may have been the son of the Woman of Tikal. He acceded to the throne on 9.5.3.9.15 and celebrated his first katun anniversary on 9.6.3.9.15. For reasons obscure, his reign ended shortly thereafter, followed by the man on Stela 17, who was in contact with Yaxchilan on 9.6.6.7.19. Monuments portraying the Woman of Tikal and her husband should be dated no later than 9.5.3.9.15. Lastly, although Stelae 10 and 12 have hiatus dates around 9.5.0.0.0, there are good reasons to place these sculptures later around 9.10.0.0.0 (Proskouriakoff 1950: 113-114).

necklaces worn by Curl Nose and other Early Classic figures (pls. 30, 38 and 39). The headdress on Stela 25 (pl. 66) combines the three-part floral motif of Kan Boar's headgear (pl. 49) with the jaguar tail shown on the Tikal emblem head carried by Stormy Sky on Stela 31 (pl. 37).

A more obvious archaic feature of Stela 25 is the body dress worn by the Woman of Tikal. While only half of the figure remains (pl. 66), the costume surely resembled the beaded skirt and quexquemitl shown on the woman of El Zapote on 9.0.0.0.0, A.D. 434 (pl. 46). Stela 5 from El Zapote (pl. 46) probably depicts a Tikal female, possibly the sister of Stormy Sky, who married a local ruler. Her dress is expressive of Teotihuacan influence in the depiction of a round quexquemitl, maskette choker and accessories (a falling object and box with Mexican trapeze-and-ray sign). Lastly, the interior of the box held by the El Zapote female contains a reclining God K, the patron deity and namesake of Stormy Sky at Tikal (Marcus 1976:159).

There is, then, evidence to attribute the beaded skirt and round quexquemitl to Tikal at the beginning of Baktun 9, even though the costume first occurs at El Zapote. It was this ensemble that became characteristic of the Peten (Proskouriakoff 1961:91-92), and both garments were usually worn with beaded overlays. Most females also

wear a tubular beaded belt with a central ornament of a fish grasping a shell (J. Miller 1974:154), beginning with the women of El Zapote and Tikal (pls. 46 and 66). Jeffrey Miller (1974:150) further noted a headdress emblem that is typically worn by women, and it first appears at El Zapote (pl. 46). It is a variant of the "tripartite badge" (Kubler 1969:40-41; M. Robertson 1974:77) that replaces the central element with a jeweled crook representing a conventionalized reptilian head.

2. Altar de Sacrificios and Naranjo

Several writers have argued (Molloy and Rathje 1974; Marcus 1976: 160-170) that royal marriages among centers contributed to the formation of alliances. A possible case for this can be made at Naranjo around 9.13.0.0.0 (A.D. 691), where the inscriptions document the appearance of a woman from Tikal, and she wears the beaded costume previously found at El Zapote and Tikal (pls. 222 and 223).⁸ The female on Stela 1 from Altar de Sacrificios, dated 9.11.10.0.0 (A.D. 661), may have come from Tikal, since

⁸ Current but as yet unpublished research by Stephen Houston and David Stuart indicates that this woman actually came from Dos Pilas in the Pasion district. The confusion stems from the fact that Dos Pilas used the Tikal emblem glyph, and may have been a dependency of that city. In this case, the woman at Naranjo associated with the Tikal emblem is named in texts at Dos Pilas as the daughter of a local ruler.

she also has a beaded skirt and quexquemitl with a tubular belt (J. Graham 1972:Fig. 1). There remains, however, the possibility that Stela 1 merely reflects influence from Tikal, in the same way that masculine dress gradually adopted elements of costume from Tikal. Similarly, Stelae 1 and 3 at Caracol, dated 9.3.0.0.0 (A.D. 592) and 9.11.0.0.0 (A.D. 651), portray a local female named Lady Jaguar, who wears the beaded quexquemitl and skirt typical of the central Peten (pls. 79 and 80). More important, a number of females wear beaded skirts and quexquemitli after 9.13.0.0.0 (A.D. 691) at Altar de Sacrificios, Dos Pilas and Xultun. I find it difficult to believe that they all came from Tikal, not only because there are so many examples but also in light of the fact that Tikal had stopped wearing beaded dress by 9.15.0.0.0 (A.D. 730).

C. Simple Costumes from the Hiatus

A more intimate view of dress is found at Uaxactun on the mural of a palace called Structure B-XIII (A. L. Smith 1950:Fig. 46). The scene depicts a meeting between two lords in elaborate costumes, followed by a temple ceremony involving three robed women, and some twenty participants outside wearing simple costumes. Within this group, three men can be identified by their hip-cloths and bare legs, but the rest are women in long

skirts. Clemency Coggins (1975:II:183-184) has discussed Teotihuacan features in the painting, such as the shape of the temple, the soft turbans worn by most participants, and the actual construction of Structure B-XIII itself. However, late Tzakel sherds found in the debris of the building suggest a date for the mural from 9.4.0.0.0 to 9.6.0.0.0 (A.D. 513-553).

The robes worn by the women inside the temple represent a long form of the Mexican huipil, a slip-on garment made from two squares of cloth with holes for the head and arms (figs. 8 and 9). Early writers on the Maya debated whether figures wearing such garments were women, men or possibly deities (Maler 1901, 1908; Thompson et al. 1932; Morley and Brainerd 1956; Ruppert et al. 1955). Subsequently, Proskouriakoff (1961:81) was able to associate the long gown with female glyphs in texts, and she recognized it as the Mexican huipil. Later portrayals of Maya women indicate that the huipil was usually worn over the basic skirt (pls. 124 and 126), but it can also appear alone (pls. 141 and 275). Similar variation occurs in Mexico today where the long huipil is typically but not always combined with a skirt (Cordry and Cordry 1968:62).

The huipil is an ancient garment in Mexico, but its origin remains obscure. While it is not preserved in the art of Teotihuacan or Monte Alban, female figurines wearing

short huipilli over skirts have been excavated at Proto-classic sites in central Veracruz (A.D. 100-300) where they are associated with ceramics that resemble Teotihuacan types (M. Coe 1965:699-700). Nonetheless, I suspect that the huipil originated in Veracruz, because during the Classic Period it is found only in Veracruz and the Maya area. The appearance of the huipil at Uaxactun around 9.5.0.0.0, on a mural that revives Mexican traits from the Early Classic, argues in favor of a western entry into the Peten by Curl Nose and his followers toward the end of Baktun 8.

The huipil has not, heretofore, been seen in Maya art, because it was not a form of public dress. The mural of Uaxactun illustrates a private ceremony. The costumes are, accordingly, more casual than the elaborate dress shown on stelae in the open plazas of Maya cities. Display in dress is important when people of different status or rank mingle, but it is unnecessary when members of the same class meet in private (Dorner 1974:11; Bell 1976:30). The private use of the huipil is underscored by the fact that the Uaxactun mural appears inside a palace building. It was never seen by the general public. Likewise, the simple costumes worn by the male participants in the painted scene probably represent everyday dress in the palaces and small courtyards used by the upper class.

There are, however, some monuments from the hiatus that evoke a new mood of intimacy. At Tikal, Stelae 23 and 25 copy the triptych programs of Stormy Sky's reign. However, the presentation of familial groups had never been attempted before, and the children on Stela 23 wear simple costumes such as those found on the contemporary mural of Uaxactun (pl. 64). Stela 25 at Naranjo, erected around 9.9.0.0.0 (A.D. 612), is also notable for the simplicity of its dress (pl. 74). I am hesitant to suggest why simple dress is important to the hiatus, enough so to invade the public domain, but it may concern some kind of revival. In this case, I need to discuss the development of Early Classic ceramics, where casual attire and genre themes first occur.

1. Narrative Presentations in Tzakol and Tepeu

The hiatus spans the division between Tzakol and Tepeu ceramic sequences around 9.6.0.0.0 or A.D. 553 (Willey et al. 1967). This separation is significant for changes in the shapes of vessels as well as their decoration. The irregular forms of Tzakol (basal flange bowls, tripods, cache vessels) were replaced by vases with smooth surface walls (round-side bowls, flare-side dishes and straight cylinders). In general, the decoration of Tzakol ceramics can be described as isolated statements of glyphs, geometric symbols and naturalistic motifs that conform

to limited areas of flat space on vessels. These elements continued into Tepeu, but there was an increasing interest in narrative scenes of upper class life, including palace gatherings, ball games, warfare, hunting, ritual ceremonies, and double portraits of rulers on the front and back of the vase. The regular shapes of Tepeu ceramics obviously reflect such pictorial concerns.

There are, however, Tzakol vessels from Tikal, Uaxactun and Kaminaljuyu that anticipate the kinds of narrative themes which became characteristic of Tepeu (pls. 40-41, 92 and 100). These examples fall into two categories of design: 1 or 2 figures who occupy paneled frames, and a series of continuous figures. Five pictorial schemes have been defined for Tepeu (Foncerrada de Molina 1977:148-149). I could analyze even more, but they would merely illustrate the ability of late ceramics to elaborate the two schemes of Tzakol. In the final analysis, every figural group in Tepeu is based upon a two-part design or a processional sequence. With regard to costume, Tzakol vases reveal a predilection for simple dress, and the trend continued in Tepeu.

At Tikal, the earliest Tzakol vessels with figural themes (pls. 40a and 41d) come from two burials that date to the end of Baktun 8 from approximately 8.17.10.0.0 to 8.19.10.0.0 (A.D. 385-425). One of the graves seems to be a redeposited tomb (PD 50), while the other, Burial 10,

is probably the tomb of the Mexican intruder Curl Nose (Coggins 1975). Both burials were extraordinarily rich in decorated ceramics, which Coggins (1975: 146, 177) describes as imports from Kaminaljuyu and local products representative of types elsewhere found only at Kaminaljuyu during the period of Teotihuacan influence, with the exception of three ring-stand bowls that may have come from Mexico. If the dating of these tombs is even roughly correct, there is good reason to believe that the Maya adopted the use of figural themes on ceramics either directly from Mexico or by way of Mexican influence at Kaminaljuyu.

2. Ceramic Motifs in Sculpture

The Tikal monuments dedicated to Stormy Sky at the beginning of Baktun 9 (Stelae 1, 2, 28 and 31) illustrate features that seem to have been copied from late Baktun 8 ceramics. I have already mentioned that the attention to detail on these sculptures recalls the precision of Tzakol vessels around 8.17.2.0.0 (A.D. 377). Specific elements, such as the chin maskette, first occur on Baktun 8 vessels and the Leyden Plaque (pls. 12 and 20-21). Similarly, the warriors on the sides of Stela 31 (pls. 38 and 39) represent a type of costume that occurs earlier on an incised tripod from PD 50 at Tikal (pl. 40a), and again at Kaminaljuyu on a tripod that is presumably close in

time, around 8.17.10.0.0 to 8.19.10.0.0 (pl. 92b).

Lastly, the triptych programs of Stormy Sky's monuments are related to figural groupings on Mexican murals, but there is precedence for such compositions at Tikal itself on ring-stand bowls from Burial 10 around 8.19.10.0.0, A.D. 425 (Coggins 1975:II:Figs. 54 and 56).

Triptych programs were revived at Tikal around 9.5.0.0.0 (A.D. 533) for Stelae 23 and 25. Sculptors probably turned once again to the minor arts for inspiration. The simple costumes worn by the children on Stela 23 (pl. 64), and later at Naranjo (pl. 74), have no antecedents in Maya sculpture. They resemble the kind of simple attire found on Early Classic ceramics (pls. 40-41, 92 and 100), as well as on Tepeu I vases (R. E. Smith 1955:II:Fig. 2a-1,n). Of course, archaistic revivals are inevitably motivated by some contemporary trend. For reasons that are not as yet understood, the hiatus reveals an interest in private art. The excavated burials of Tikal and Altun Ha include such personal possessions as clay figurines, wooden staffs and headdresses, and bundles of cloth and jaguar skins that were probably worn as garments (Pendergast 1969:21-25; Coggins 1975:I:342-348). Thus, although little is known concerning the development of wall painting in the Peten, it is perhaps no coincidence that the intimate scene on the Uaxactun mural happens to coincide with the hiatus.

II. The Southeast Frontier

The southeast frontier, including Copan and Quirigua, represents an area where almost every sculpture from the Middle Classic reflects Stormy Sky's reign at Tikal during the first two katuns of Baktun 9. Heretofore, the figural stelae of Copan could not be dated earlier than 9.7.0.0.0 (A.D. 572), while the Quirigua sequence was thought to begin on 9.13.0.0.0 (A.D. 691). Further research and newly discovered monuments at both centers provide secure evidence of sculptures erected around 9.2.0.0.0 (A.D. 474). These monuments confirm Proskouriakoff's (1950:115) assumption that the southeast was influenced by the central Peten in early Baktun 9.

A. Quirigua

Stelae T and U at Quirigua were considered late monuments by Sylvanus Morley, who read the inscription on Stela T as 9.13.0.0.0 or A.D. 691, and that of Stela U as 9.14.0.0.0 or A.D. 710 (Morley 1938-39:IV:86-94). Recent excavations have pushed the dates back, placing Stela U as 9.2.3.8.0 (A.D. 477) and Stela T as 9.3.0.0.0 (A.D. 494), because these monuments are located in an area (Group A) that may have been the first part of the city to be occupied (Sharer 1978:62-63). Photographs of Stela U are not available, but Morley (1935:56) describes this sculpture as having a profile figure on the front and

text on the back. Morley (ibid) also recognized the possibility of a 9.2.3.8.0 date, but regarded it as too early.

Stela T (9.3.0.0.0) is entirely glyphic (Morley 1935:Fig. 6). However, the composition of Stela T is related to the newly discovered Stela 26, dated 9.2.18.0.0 (A.D. 493). A photograph of this sculpture (Willey 1982:Fig. 6) shows a frontal figure wearing Early Classic helmet headgear and carrying a ceremonial bar across the chest. This kind of presentation provides a prototype for most stelae subsequently carved at Quirigua. Most important, Christopher Jones (1977MS) describes Stela 26 as depicting ". . . a figure in the wrap around style that occurs at Tikal on Stelae 1,2 and 28." It is certain that Tikal, rather than any other center, influenced Quirigua, because the only other possible sculptures, which are found at Uaxactun, confine the figural image to the frontal plane of the stela (pls. 59-61).

B. Copan

Copan has also been recently excavated, and there is a new stela, now on display at the local museum. It has standing profiles of male figures on the front and back. I saw this monument briefly, and remember it as most similar to Stela 29 at Tikal (pl. 11), as well as Stela 5 at Yaxha (Greene et al. 1972:Pl. 161) in showing the

ceremonial bar held diagonally across one arm. In other respects, the figures wear costumes characteristic of the Early Classic in the Peten, including helmets, hip-cloths and heavy belts with pendant chains. The Copan stela is undated, but should be placed at the beginning of the Middle Classic, since there are glyphic sculptures from Copan with texts on the front and back of their shafts from 9.1.10.0.0-9.2.10.0.0 (Stelae 20, 24 and 25). Of course, all of these monuments reflect the figural experiments of Stormy Sky's reign, and specifically the royal couple portrayed on the front and back of Stela 5 at El Zapote on 9.0.0.0.0 (A.D. 434).

Fragments of stela texts and pedestal stones record dates at Copan from 9.2.10.0.0 (A.D. 484) onward, but the next preserved figure appears on Stela 18 at 9.7.0.0.0 or A.D. 572 (Morley 1920:53-97). Stela 18 is severely eroded, but resembles a series of sculptures that follow, including Stelae 7, P, E, 2, 3 and 5 from 9.9.0.0.0 to 9.11.15.0.0 (A.D. 612-666). These monuments are all similar in the presentation of a frontal ruler wearing dress motifs that Proskouriakoff (1950:115) characterized as archaic features related to the Early Classic in the Peten. Notable in the Copanec sequence are elements that seem to have been copied from the minor arts, such as the flaccid ceremonial bar found on only the Leyden Plaque and early Peten ceramics (pls. 12 and 20). The tiered mask headdresses

recall Stelae 1 and 2 at Tikal, but they are even closer to the masks on early cache vessels from the Peten (pl. 22).

III. The Northern Lowlands

A. Feminine Regalia at Coba, Calakmul and Tulum

A great many women are portrayed on Middle Classic monuments outside the Peten, beginning with hiatus sculptures in the northern lowlands at Coba, Ichpaatun and Calakmul. The distribution of Middle Classic female monuments at circum-Peten centers has led several writers (Molloy and Rathje 1974; Marcus 1976:160-170) to postulate the existence of dynastic marriages between Tikal and distant provincial cities. Molloy and Rathje (1974) propose a system of exchange whereby Tikal sent royal women to peripheral centers in return for goods obtained through riverine and coastal trade. This thesis expands Rathje's core-buffer model (1973), and helps explain, according to the authors, how Tikal maintained its wealth and prestige despite the growth of regional capitals and trade routes around the Peten during the hiatus. Molloy and Rathje do not, in fact, cite the appearance of Tikal women at circum-Peten centers, but refer only to the presence of Tikal's Sky dynasty title at Yaxchilan, Quirigua and Copan.

Joyce Marcus (1976:159-160) also believes that Tikal

women were sent to other regions. Rather than suggest why this happened, she states the end result: "... women with Peten origins and affiliations served to annex new 'colonies' to the Classic Maya political structure" (Marcus ibid:164). Her comments on marriages across regions are primarily confined to stelae erected during the hiatus and shortly afterwards, from 9.5.0.0.0 to 9.10.0.0.0 (A.D. 533-632) in the northern lowlands (Tulum, Coba, Uxul, Calakmul, Ichpaatun). Marcus identifies these women as having come from the central Peten because they wear the beaded skirt shown at El Zapote and Tikal during the first quarter of Baktun 9.

Some doubt can immediately be cast on the idea of a Tikal bridal supply by consulting glyphic texts at Palenque. The east panel from the Temple of the Inscriptions (K2-K9) records the accession of a female called Lady K'anah-Ik'al on 9.7.10.3.8; her death on 9.8.11.6.12 was recorded on the side of the Sarcophagus in the tomb below. These texts associate Lady K'anah-Ik'al no less than three times with the Palenque emblem glyph, leaving no question as to her origin. Another woman, named Lady Zac Kuk, ruled Palenque from 9.8.19.7.18 to 9.9.2.4.8, and the Palenque emblem invariably follows her nominal compound.

As for representations of women executed in the northern lowlands, none of them can be directly compared to the early females of El Zapote and Tikal wearing beaded

skirts and quexquemitli. The provincial monuments reflect Peten motifs, and at the same time, important differences. My comments here are somewhat tentative because sculptures in the north tend to be fairly eroded. The limestone in this region is softer than that of the Peten. Consequently, northern monuments have suffered more over time. Moreover, the earliest drawings of stelae at Coba, Tulum and Calakmul leave much to be desired (Lothrop 1924; Thompson et al. 1932; Ruppert and Denison 1943). Some have been redrawn by George Stuart (Coba) and Ian Graham (Calakmul), but the hiatus sculptures await new effort.

Three stelae from Coba and Ichpaatun (Chetumal) depict profile women wearing beaded skirts during the hiatus (Marcus 1976:159). Unfortunately, the upper portions of these females are too eroded to determine if they wore shoulder garments. Stela 1 at Tulum (9.6.10.0.0 or A.D. 563) is better preserved, although cursorily rendered in the drawing by Lothrop (pl. 87). This woman stands in frontal view with a beaded skirt. The configuration of small spirals below the center of the belt probably represents the motif of a fish grasping a shell found at Tikal and El Zapote (pls. 46 and 66). However, the volutes and scrolls on the sides of the skirt are unique.

On the upper half of the Tulum female, Lothrop has drawn what appears to be a slip-on shoulderpiece with a necklace pendant. There is no superimposed beadwork.

and the garment itself has an unusual U shape that follows the outline of the flaccid ceremonial bar held in the hands (pl. 87). This type of pointed quexquemiti was worn by Monte Alban women in Oaxaca (Caso and Bernal 1952:Figs. 128-131 and 215). It also occurs on Jaina style figurines from the northern lowlands (Corson 1976:Figs. 2a and b). The figurines illustrated by Corson are solid, and therefore, contemporary with the Tulum female (Corson ibid:3,15).

After 9.8.0.0.0 (A.D. 592), the northern lowlands adopted the huipil as a form of public dress. Beaded overlays were frequently added, but the basis of these costumes was the woven huipil. At Coba, Stelae 2,3,4,5 and 6 from 9.9.0.0.0 to 9.12.0.0.0 (A.D. 612-671) are very similar in their portrayal of women wearing a long huipil, beads over the shoulders, and occasionally, a beaded skirt (pls. 88 and 89). The same kind of dress appears at Edzna (pl. 105), and at Calakmul on Stela 54 (Ruppert and Denison 1943:Pl.51c). There was, however, a tendency to elongate beaded layers at Calakmul so that they cover the entire huipil, including Stela 28 on 9.9.10.0.0 and the undated Stela 88 (Ruppert and Denison 1943:Pls. 49c and 53a). Beaded huipilli also occur in the Calakmul vicinity at Uxul on Stela 2, dated 9.9.10.0.0 or A.D. 622 (Ruppert and Denison 1943:Pl. 58a); Naachtun on 9.11.0.0.0 or A.D. 651 (pl. 93); and on a looted stela with

what may be the Calakmul emblem in the Cleveland Museum, dated 9.13.0.0.0 or A.D. 691 (pl. 91).

As a group, the stelae from Coba and the Calakmul area define a mode of dress for women in the northern lowlands, and at the same time, differences between the two cities. Both centers shared the use of huipilli and layers of beads, but each is distinct in their presentations. Less beadwork appears at Coba, and as Proskouriakoff noted (1950:123), the costumes invariably include a long necklace that terminates in a bar ornament (pls. 88 and 89). This necklace is peculiar to Coba in the north, but it has precedence at Caracol on 9.8.10.0.0 or A.D. 602 (pl. 82).

In the Calakmul area, the women of Calakmul (Stelae 28 and 88), Uxul (Stela 2), and Naachtun (Stela 18) wear beaded huipilli (pls. 90 and 91). Like women in the Peten, these costumes include tubular beaded belts with fish-shell ornaments, and the tripartite emblem frequently occurs in the headdresses. This kind of dress is so characteristic of Calakmul that it can be used to determine the provenance of other looted monuments, such as a lintel dated 9.11.10.0.0 or A.D. 661 (pl. 97), and a stela of Late Classic date (pl. 260).

In summary, feminine dress in the north is quite different from the Peten. The Peten made a separation between private and public forms of dress. The skirt,

quexquemitl, and matching layers of beads are typical of public monuments, while the huipil appears in a private ceremony among members of the upper class on the mural of Uaxactun. The northern lowlands confused this distinction, either through ignorance or deliberate effort, and wore the huipil in public with layers of beads. Thus, the costumes worn by northern women cannot be used to support marriage alliances among Tikal and distant centers on the periphery of the Maya lowlands. To the contrary, the northern monuments illustrate disparate motifs that seem to reflect local developments.

I think the north borrowed the huipil from ceramics obtained through trade. The Uaxactun mural depicts almost the kind of intimate scene characteristic of Tepeu vase painting, and of course, the huipil is the usual female costume on such vases (pls. 271, 275, 285, 288-289, and 293-294). The hiatus female at Tulum wears a quexquemitl typical of Jaina figurines, and her flaccid ceremonial bar recalls the Leyden Plaque and early ceramics from the Peten. The huipil is likewise characteristic of the minor arts where simple costumes seem to reflect the daily life of the upper class. In other words, I am suggesting that the northern lowlands did not have direct or frequent contacts with the Peten; otherwise, centers would not have confused Peten distinctions in dress. The peculiar motifs that became typical of the north, such as the beaded

huipil and pointed quexquemiltl, are most easily explained as features copied from trade products.

Marriage alliances among distinct centers are certainly documented in glyphic texts, but they were probably less common than writers have supposed (Molloy and Rathje 1974; Marcus 1976). In fact, the growth of regional types of dress suggests that most marriages were made among centers in close proximity. More important, Tikal women at different cities do not wear Peten dress. The stela that I have assigned to the Calakmul area names a Lady of Tikal (pl. 260), but her beaded huipil is characteristic of the north, and specifically of Calakmul. In the western lowlands, the several wives of Bird Jaguar at Yaxchilan all wear the woven decorated huipilli found in this region, including a female called Lady Jaguar of Tikal on Lintels 17 and 43 (pls. 158 and 160).

B. Masculine Dress at Calakmul and Edzna

Few male stelae survive from the Middle Classic in the north, with the exception of sculptures from the Calakmul area and two monuments from Edzna. These stelae are related to elements of costume in the central Peten and Caracol in the southeast. The work of Clemency Coggins on the minor arts of Tikal reveals trade contacts among the central Peten and centers to the northeast and southeast around 9.4.0.0.0 to 9.12.0.0.0 (1975:I:265-274 and 345-

364). Peten relations with such cities as Holmul, Altun Ha, Tzimin Kax and Caracol suggest riverine trade routes that headed northeast along the border of Peten and Belize toward the Bay of Chetumal in the north, using the Rio Hondo, Rio Belize and Rio Neuvo. If these rivers were actually used, they would account for the presence of southeastern motifs in the northern lowlands.

Stela 43 at Calakmul is perhaps the earliest dated monument from the northern lowlands (9.4.0.0.0 or A.D. 513), but it is surely not the first. This is a masterful sculpture (pl. 94). The profile stance, slanted position of the ceremonial bar, and pendant chain recall late Baktun 8 in the Peten. The attention to detail, the chin maskette on the helmet, and ligatures of the arms and legs relate to Stelae 1, 2 and 31 from Tikal at the beginning of Baktun 9. Finally, the shoulderpiece, short necklace and sandals with heelguards are contemporary with the costumes worn by Claw Skull at Tikal around 9.4.0.0.0 (A.D. 513). In other words, Stela 43 is truly an archaistic revival. It takes early motifs from different periods and recombines them in a single costume. Unfortunately, Stela 43 is followed by a gap in the Calakmul sequence until the end of the hiatus.

Proskouriakoff observed (1950:122-123) that many traits characteristic of the Late Classic appear fully developed in the northern lowlands by the end of the

hiatus. Most such motifs have, I suspect, antecedents in the central Peten or the southeast, although few can be so demonstrated. Stela 4 at Caracol, erected before 9.12.0.0.0 (A.D. 671) has leggings of the type shown at Edzna around 9.12.0.0.0 to 9.13.0.0.0 (pls. 86, 106 and 107). Stela 6 at Caracol includes two features - a necklace with several medallions and the trident flint as a hand accessory, on 9.8.10.0.0 or A.D. 602 (pl. 84). Similar elements appear at Calakmul and Edzna from 9.9.10.0.0 onward (pls. 92, 96-97 and 106-107). The Edzna figures also carry the God K scepter, but this accessory probably occurs earlier at Calakmul on Stela 9, dated 9.9.10.0.0 (Ruppert and Denison 1943:Pl. 48b), and even earlier on the mural of Uaxactun in the Peten during the hiatus (Coggins 1975:I:184). Lastly, Stela 6 from Caracol (9.8.10.0.0) wears a helmet with a fish-nibbling-water-lily motif (pl. 83), of the type found on Stela II from the Calakmul area on 9.13.0.0.0 (pl. 92).

Other features on northern sculptures remain, at this time, motifs that have precedents in the north. On Stela 9 at Calakmul, dated 9.9.10.0.0, the loincloth has the mask panel of the so-called "Sun God" face, and sandals with tassels (Ruppert and Denison 1943:Pl. 48b). Neither trait is known in the Peten until 9.11.0.0.0 (A.D. 651) at Xultun (pls. 77 and 73). Similarly, Stela 29, dated 9.9.10.0.0 or A.D. 622 (pl. 96) preserves the outlines of

a belt with three identical masks. This kind of belt becomes characteristic of Late Classic dress. Peculiar to Calakmul was the placement of medallions or epaulettes on the sides of the shoulders, beginning with Stela 29 (pl. 96) and continuing into the Late Classic (pls. 257-258 and 262).

IV. The Western Lowlands

Considerable discussion is devoted to the west, because this region was very active during the hiatus (Yaxchilan, Piedras Negras, Bonampak, Lacanha). Some of the monuments are formal portraits of rulers, similar to those of Tikal around 9.4.0.0.0 (A.D. 513), but from the beginning, Usumacinta sculptors carved narrative presentations on architectural reliefs such as lintels and wall panels. These compositions mix simple and elaborate dress, and they are concerned with themes of warfare and palace life. Relatively speaking, the southeast and northern lowlands are more closely related to the central Peten in their dress and figural postures. The west represents a decidedly different tradition. I will argue that the western lowlands borrowed figural themes and many dress motifs from the minor arts. Some costume elements came from the north. The development of complex weaving was probably influenced by contacts with Mexico, specifically with centers in Veracruz where cotton grew as a native plant.

A. Masculine Dress

1. Yaxchilan

Among Usumacinta centers with preserved monuments in the Middle Classic Period, Yaxchilan emerges as the most conservative. Stelae 27 and 14, respectively dated 9.4.0.0.0 and 9.4.10.0.0, are closely related in their dress and profile stance to monuments at Tikal from 9.2.0.0.0 to 9.4.0.0.0 or A.D. 474-513 (Proskouriakoff 1950:109; Morley 1938-39:V:Pls. 103b and c). Proskouriakoff (*ibid*) further observes that the scattering gesture on Stela 27 reflects a degree of action not found in the formal presentations of the Tikal group (pls. 51-56). This gesture, in which drops of water or blood, or possibly grains fall from the ruler's hand, recalls falling hand accessories on Teotihuacan murals, as well as on Esperanza (Tzakol) vessels from Kaminaljuyu (pls. 41b, 92a and d).⁹

The scattering theme recurs at Yaxchilan on Stela 2, dated 9.12.15.0.0 (A.D. 686), and again on Stela 6 at 9.13.0.0.0 or A.D. 691 (Maler 1903:Pls. 71 and 72). Both monuments depict rulers in elaborate dress, and they compare favorably to the formal scattering theme on Stela 30 at Tikal on 9.13.0.0.0 (pl. 190). After 9.13.

⁹ An unpublished paper by David Stuart provides good evidence that it is blood which falls from the hands of rulers in the scattering gesture.

0.0.0 (A.D. 691), Yaxchilan sculptors turned their attention almost exclusively to figural groups on lintels in palace buildings. This new interest in lintel programs was preceded by the series in Structure 12 around 9.8.0.0.0 (A.D. 592), but most of these reliefs are epigraphic. Of the seven lintels in Structure 12, only Lintel 36 portrays a figure, and it is a single figure in the profile stance of Maya stelae. In summary, the Middle Classic at Yaxchilan is related to the development of the Peten.

The glyphic lintels of Structure 12 merit further comment, because they provide a general time frame for other Middle Classic reliefs in the western lowlands. In the palace building known as Structure 12, there are six lintels that represent a continuous text from one relief to the next (I. Graham 1979:III:Pt.2:77-83). Sylvanus Morley (1938-39:II:368-376) determined that Lintels 48 and 47 begin the inscription, because together they record an Initial Series date of 9.4.11.8.16 2 Cib 19 Pax.

Lintels 34, 49, 37 and 35, in that order, constitute a dynasty list that probably goes back to Baktun 8 on the fragmentary Lintel 34, and can be securely traced from 9.0.19.2.4 to 9.7.15.5.6 on Lintels 49, 37 and 35 (Mathews 1980MS). On the latter three reliefs, the name of each ruler is preceded by the hel glyph and a numerical coefficient which designates that man's place in the

historical succession (Riese 1979MS). Peter Mathews (1980MS) was thus able to analyze Lintels 49, 37 and 35 as texts concerning the fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth and tenth rulers to govern Yaxchilan. Although the practice of enumerating rulers with hel glyphs is rare, it also occurs at Tikal. The lintels of Structure 12 were probably carved near the latest date, 9.7.15.5.6, and the texts doubtless commemorate the ancestry of the tenth ruler.

Most unusual on Lintels 49, 37 and 35 are references to rulers at other cities (Mathews 1980MS). The relationship glyphs are not as yet understood, but Yaxchilan must have been in contact with these centers on the dates mentioned. I have listed the various rulers below, according to the research of Peter Mathews (1980MS). There can be little doubt as to the correctness of this information, because some foreign rulers named in the texts to Structure 12 are also referred to on monuments from their home centers. I will refer to the information on the lintels of Structure 12 in discussing Middle Classic reliefs at Bonampak and Piedras Negras.

L.48,47: 9.4.11.8.16 2 Cib 19 Pax

L.34: probably covers a series of early rulers during

Baktun 8, but the text is fragmentary.

L.49: Ruler 1 (name missing)

Ruler 5 (name missing)

Ruler 6, Skull I (N8), who had some association with a ruler at Bonampak called Bird-Jaguar (P2-P3).

Peter Mathews (1980MS) has observed that the earliest rulers of Yaxchilan belonged to a Skull lineage, while those at Bonampak came from a Jaguar family.

These two dynasties seem to have intermarried around 9.2.0.0.0 (A.D. 474), with the Jaguar clan eventually dominating both centers from Yaxchilan.

The famous Late Classic rulers of Yaxchilan (Shield Jaguar and Bird Jaguar) had ancestors with similar names who came from Bonampak.

Ruler 7, Skull II (Q5), who is known from L.21 at Yaxchilan to have been living on 9.0.19.2.4 (A.D. 453). L.49 also associates Skull II with a ruler called Turtleshe11 of Piedras Negras (P6-07).

L.37: Ruler 8, Bird-Jaguar (Q2), who must have ruled around 9.2.0.0.0 to 9.3.0.0.0 (A.D. 474-494), and he is the first Yaxchilan ruler from the Jaguar lineage of Bonampak. Bird-Jaguar was also in contact with Turtleshe11 of Piedras Negras (Q6-R6).

Ruler 9, Knot-eye Jaguar (Q8), whose dates are 9.3.19.12.12 to 9.6.10.14.15 (A.D. 512-563). This ruler was associated with Feather Head of Bonampak and Jaguar Paw Skull of Tikal around 9.6.6.7.19 (A.D. 559).

L.35: Ruler 10, Skull III (U2), who is related to Knot-eye

Jaguar of Bonampak and other rulers from unidentified cities (W3-X3) on 1 Cimi 14 Muan (9.7.15.5.6). Mathews (1980MS) speculates that the Knot-eye Jaguar mentioned here was the ninth ruler of Yaxchilan who became regent of Bonampak after the death of Feather Head around 9.6.6.7.19.

Lintel 36 could portray any one of the early rulers of Yaxchilan, but the most likely candidate would be the latest ruler (Skull III). Unfortunately, while the glyphic panels from Structure 12 are remarkably well preserved, Lintel 36 is severely eroded. It faintly shows a standing figure in frontal view with a ceremonial bar held diagonally across the chest in the left arm (Morley 1938-39: II:367). There is also an anthropomorphic figure in the right hand, similar to small deities later seen as hand accessories at Palenque and other western cities. In general, Lintel 36 suggests that the formal presentation of rulers on Peten stelae was reproduced in miniature form for the lintel program of Structure 12.

2. Bonampak

The earliest known monument from Bonampak is a lintel, which is now in a private collection (pl. 101). This relief presents two seated figures in simple dress. The two men wear turbans instead of mask headgear; their necklaces are strands of beads rather than heavy beaded

collars; the belts are without elaborate ornaments; the feet are bare. They appear to be engaged in conversation, but are separated by a central text with the Initial Series date of 9.4.8.14.9 (A.D. 521). In the incised secondary texts on either side of the Initial Series date, the man on the right is named as Feather Head of Bonampak. He is without doubt the same Feather Head mentioned in the inscriptions of Structure 12 at Yaxchilan on Lintel 37 on 9.6.6.7.19. Lintel 37 indicates that Feather Head did not live much beyond this date, since his reign was followed by a man called Knot-eye Jaguar on Lintel 35.

There are no antecedents on monumental sculptures for the kind of narrative two-part composition on the Feather Head lintel from Bonampak (pl. 101). Moreover, the simple dress is not characteristic of Maya stelae. Two-part compositions, simple costumes and narrative themes are found only on Tzakol ceramics. Ceramic comparisons with the Bonampak lintel appear as early as 8.19.10.0.0 (A.D. 425) at Tikal (pl. 41d), and probably at the same time on vessels from Kaminaljuyu (pls. 41a-c and 92a-c). The closest parallel to the Bonampak relief is on a late Tzakol III cylinder tripod from Uaxactun from approximately 9.3.0.0.0 to 9.6.0.0.0 or A.D. 494-553 (pl. 100). It is my guess that such vessels reached the western lowlands through trade, and their scenes were copied by western

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sculptors. The hiatus lintel of Bonampak renders in flat relief the two-part panel scheme of Tzakol ceramics.

The next preserved relief from Bonampak, Lintel 4 on 9.8.9.15.11 (around A.D. 601) presents a more conservative program. The elaborate headdress and ceremonial bar are reminiscent of formal dress on Peten stelae. In particular, the combination of the profile head and frontal ceremonial bar recall Stormy Sky's reign at Tikal (pls. 43 and 44). Another archaistic feature is the jeweled band over the reptilian mask in the headdress, which recalls similar diadems on early Peten ceramics and jade plaques (pls. 12 and 18).

3. Piedras Negras

Lintel 12 at Piedras Negras is, like the early Bonampak relief, a two-part composition in which two figural groups face one another, but they are physically separated by a central text (Morley 1938-39:V:Pl.119c). The complete inscription, which covers the sides and central column of the lintel, records dates in close succession - 9.3.19.12.12, 9.4.0.0.0, 9.4.3.0.17, 9.4.3.10.1, 9.4.3.14.1 - and the count surely continues forward in the last passage that is now severely eroded. Lintel 12 was probably carved for use in the palace building called Structure R-4 on 9.5.0.0.0 (A.D. 533), as this is the dedicatory date of Stela 30 in front of the building

Morley 1938-39:III:33). The presumed dedicatory date of Lintel 12, 9.5.0.0.0, thus falls close in time to the Feather Head relief from Bonampak on 9.4.8.14.9.

Proskouriakoff (1950:110) wanted to allow a margin of several katuns for the carving of Lintel 12, in light of what she called "advanced traits" in the execution (overlapping knees and intricate featherwork. There is, however, a certain rigidity in the figures comparable to Stelae 27 and 14 at Yaxchilan around 9.4.10.0.0 (A.D. 523). I see no reason to make Lintel 12 an exception to the usual custom of dating a sculpture near the latest date in its text (Proskouriakoff 1950:9). To the contrary, there is more evidence to place Lintel 12 as around 9.5.0.0.0 (A.D. 533). In the figural group on the left side of the relief, one of the three kneeling men is named in the text above as Knot-eye Jaguar of Yaxchilan, the same Knot-eye lord mentioned on Lintel 37 at Yaxchilan. It is known from the inscriptions of Yaxchilan that Knot-eye Jaguar reigned from 9.3.19.12.12 to 9.6.6.7.19 (Mathews 1980MS).

The ruler on the right hand side of Lintel 12 is probably Turtleshell, who is also mentioned in the lintel program of Structure 12 at Yaxchilan. He stands with a decapitated victim before three kneeling attendants. The figure of Turtleshell is somewhat eroded, but he is dressed in elaborate attire with a mask headdress and

heavy belt having a featherwork back device. On the left, the three kneeling figures, who may all be visiting rulers, wear simpler costumes. While I cannot find exact parallels for this mixture of simple and elaborate dress on ceramics, a similar gathering appears on a vase from Tikal during late Baktun 8 (pl. 40a), and a procession of warriors occurs on a vessel from Kaminaljuyu (pl. 92b). Thus, like the Feather Head lintel from Bonampak, the two-part composition and theme of Lintel 12 recalls figures separated by texts or panels on Tzakol ceramics (pls. 41, 92 and 100).

It is difficult to follow the development of relief carving at Piedras Negras, because there is a gap in the preserved record until 9.11.15.0.0 (A.D. 666). At this time, Lintels 2, 4 and 5 revive the military audience first shown on Lintel 12 (Maler 1901:Pls. 31, 32; Morley 1938-39:V:Pl. 126b). There are, to be sure, differences in the composition of these later reliefs. No central text divides the figural group, but in each case, a physical space separates the ruler from kneeling attendants before him. All of the participants on the later reliefs wear military costumes, while Lintel 12 mixes simple and elaborate dress.

The military dress worn on Lintels 2, 4 and 5 includes adaptations to such Teotihuacan motifs as platelet helmets with chin guards, quilted turbans, trapeze-and-ray

signs and square shields. This complex of traits first appears in the Maya area at Tikal on ceramics and the sides of Stela 31 (Coggins 1975:II:Figs.53-57). The same motifs occur next on undated monuments at Tres Islas in the Peten, which I have placed at the beginning of Baktun 9 (pls. 57 and 58). It is not known how or when the complex reached the western lowlands. Lintel 12 at Piedras Negras (9.5.0.0.0) is too eroded to assess details of the ruler's costume. Nonetheless, the same military dress appears on a hiatus stela at Lacanha (pl. 104), and on a number of public sculptures at Piedras Negras after 9.9.15.0.0 (Stelae 26,31,34 and 35).

Although visually cumbersome, the military dress shown at Piedras Negras during the second half of the Middle Classic apparently functioned as armor. The waist of the body is protected by a heavy belt, and underneath it, there are protective layers of cloth or quilted fabrics (Maler 1901:Pls. 28 and 31). Lintel 4 marks the first appearance, on 9.11.15.0.0 (A.D. 666), of the sleeveless tunic later worn in the battle scene on the murals of Bonampak, as well as on lintels at Yaxchilan (Maler 1901:Pl. 32). Lastly, most warriors at Piedras Negras wear short hip-cloths, so as to allow the legs freedom of movement in battle.

Another Middle Classic relief from Piedras Negras, Lintel 7 on 9.12.10.0.0 (A.D. 681), suggests that sculptors

continued to borrow themes from the minor arts. Lintel 7 is a palace audience with seated attendants before an enthroned ruler; all of the participants wear casual, soft turbans and scant body dress (Morley 1938-39:V: pl. 126a). This type of composition occurs on Tepeu 1 ceramics after 9.6.0.0.0 (A.D. 553), but it is particularly characteristic of Tepeu 2 vases, beginning around 9.12.0.0.0 (A.D. 671). Thus, while Lintel 7 may not be the first such palace relief at Piedras Negras, it is contemporary with designs on Tepeu vase paintings.

I am less certain of antecedents for the "niche" stelae that commemorate the accessions of rulers at Piedras Negras. Three belong to the Middle Classic Period, beginning with Stela 33 on 9.8.15.0.0, followed by Stela 33 on 9.10.10.0.0 and Stela 25 on 9.12.15.0.0 (Maler 1901:Pls.15, No.3, 22 and 26, No.2). In each instance, the ruler is seated in a niche framed by sky band signs and dragon heads. Stela 33, which presents the composition in profile, suggests that these events took place inside a palace or small temple. The elaborate costumes on all three monuments, including the headdresses, heavy necklaces and clothing, reflect public dress on stelae in other parts of the Maya area, but the niche presentation is unique. Seated figures are not traditionally shown on public sculptures. Moreover, there are peculiar secondary features such as ladders, attendant women and sacrificed

captives spread over altars, all of which are rendered in finely incised lines. These stelae possibly resemble manuscripts in their tableaux compositions and attention to detail. Clemency Coggins (1975:I:232) has also observed a relationship between probable graphic motifs and Usumacinta designs in stucco or very low stone relief.

4. Palenque

Few sculptures from Palenque can be securely dated. Some years ago, Beatriz de la Fuente (1965:168-170) attempted a stylistic analysis using three phases. More recent work on the inscriptions and ceramics (Rands 1974a, 1974b; Schele 1974) suggest that most reliefs assigned to Fuente's Phase I, or in other words the Middle Classic, are almost certainly later. The only sculptures that can be attributed to the period from 9.9.0.0.0 to 9.13.0.0.0 are the Oval Palace Tablet from House E, stucco figures from the Temple of Inscriptions, and the western piers from House C. Earlier sculptures are known from the Olvidado Temple, but the art is badly damaged and unpublished.

Palenque was an eclectic center. It breaks every rule or expected feature of Classic Maya art. I would again argue that much of the iconography was borrowed from the minor arts, although there is little evidence for or against the hypothesis. The Oval Palace tablet,

for example, represents the passage of power between a female regent (Lady Zac Kuk) and her son, Pacal, around 9.10.0.0.0 or A.D. 632 (pl. 110). It is an intimate ceremony shown on a wall tablet inside a palace (House E). The presentation of the mother and son recalls the familial monuments, Stelae 23 and 25, from the reign of the Woman of Tikal. Indeed, the Palenque woman has adopted the beaded layers characteristic of feminine dress in the Peten. On the other hand, the Oval Palace Tablet can also be regarded as a two-part composition that recalls conversations between seated figures on Tzakol ceramics. There is a sense of narrative action between the Palenque figures, which is not characteristic of Peten monuments, and the costumes are simpler. The Palenque queen has a huipil under her beaded layers, and instead of a full mask headdress, she wears merely a headband with small maskettes. Pacal wears scant dress, befitting his status as the heir incumbent. The intimacy of the presentation and tendency to simplify the costumes would suggest ideas borrowed from ceramics.

The western piers from House C depict three enthroned figures in stucco relief (Maudslay 1889-1902:IV:Pl. 28). None is well preserved, but as a group, they represent a seated figure wearing a turban and feather headdress, beaded shoulderpiece, belt and textile hip-cloth. This kind of presentation recalls the seated figures carved in

wood on the sides of a burial litter at Tikal around 9.8.0.0.0 or A.D. 592 (pl. 70). There are even earlier precedents for seated or enthroned figures on Tzakol ceramics (Kidder et al. 1947:Figs.204a and 6, 205c,d,e and f). By Tepeu times, similar portraits of rulers are typical of Maya vase painting (Foncerrada de Molina 1977: 248; Coggins 1975:II:Fig.81). Only on these Tzakol and Tepeu ceramics can one find the use of turbans and animated gestures such as those shown on the piers of House C.

The Temple of Inscriptions was the funerary monument to Pacal, the ruler who transformed Palenque from a small center into a major city during the katuns following the hiatus. An interior tomb, containing Pacal's sarcophagus and stucco figures around the walls, can be dated to the time of his death on 9.12.11.5.18. The exterior building reliefs, Piers b,c,d and e, were commissioned by Pacal's son and successor, Chan-Bahlum (Robertson 1979a:131-132). As a group, the figures from the Inscriptions Temple reflect disparate sources of influence upon Palenque. Some elements were apparently borrowed from the Peten, others from the northern lowlands, and still more from neighboring centers such as Piedras Negras.

a. The Sarcophagus

The figure of Pacal on the sarcophagus lid seems insignificant when compared to the complex iconography

around him (pl. 111). His simple dress is in keeping with Pacal's attire on the Oval Palace Tablet (pl. 110), although the two costumes differ in their details. The sarcophagus figure is more interesting because the hip-cloth has a beaded overlay. I suspect the beadwork is a revival of the hip-cloth worn by Stormy Sky at the beginning of Baktun 9 at Tikal (pl. 43). This is one of several dress motifs which suggest a deliberate attempt, on the part of Palenque, to affirm the Peten tradition.

Ten busts of figures around the sides of the sarcophagus represent Pacal's ancestors dating back to 9.4.10.4.17 (Lounsbury 1974:Table 1). These busts are identified by glyphs beside each figure, and in addition, the headdress of each bust represents a personified version of the nominal compound (pl. 112). Although some are women, the upper torsos of the figures are similarly dressed in necklaces or jeweled collarpieces and belts of tubular beads. The females are distinguished, however, by their long hair. The men wear a hair style peculiar to Palenque in which the back of the head was shorn, with a short crop falling from the bare spot to the shoulders. Only once at Palenque does a woman have the masculine coiffure. It appears on Lady Zac Kuk in the accession ceremony of Pacal (pl. 110), and presumably because she assumed the role of a male ruler in nominating a successor (Robertson 1979a:134). It is worthwhile noting here that

the tendency to simplify formal dress in the western lowlands permits a view of such intimate details as hair cuts, the knotting of cloth or the way in which earrings were actually fastened onto the ear. As in the minor arts throughout the Maya area, Palenque was concerned with personal aspects of dress.

b. Stucco Figures in the Tomb

Stucco reliefs around the walls of Pacal's tomb may represent his son Chan-Bahlum (Schele 1976:23). One of the figures is almost destroyed, but the remaining 8 are similar in pose and dress (pls. 113 and 114). The significance of the costume cannot as yet be explained, but several of its attributes are revivals from the Peten. The shoulderpiece, for example, has an exaggerated fringe of feathers such that a clear distinction is made between the material of the shoulderpiece itself and the attached collar of flat beads. The same separation is made on Early Classic shoulderpieces in the central Peten (pls. 47, 53 and 67-68). More contemporary examples of shoulderpieces often fail to distinguish between the material and beaded decoration (pls. 104 and 107).

Most emphatically archaistic on the Palenque stucco reliefs is the manner of wearing the hip-cloth. It curves inward toward the thighs, as it does at Tikal in the Early Classic (pls. 12 and 43). Other features of the

tomb stucco costumes suggest influence from the northern lowlands, particularly from the site of Edzna. It is here that rulers wear strap leggings such as those found on the tomb figures (pls. 106 and 107). Both Edzna rulers also carry God K scepters, as do the Palenque figures (pls. 113 and 114). This accessory may have originated in the Peten (Coggins 1975:I:184), but it is first recognizable in the northern lowlands at Calakmul around 9.9.10.0.0 or A.D. 622 (pl. 95). A final trait that links Palenque with the north is the helmet with a chin guard. This type of headgear disappeared from the Peten after the hiatus, but it is worn at Calakmul and Edzna after 9.9.10.0.0 (pls. 92, 95, 106 and 107).

c. The Exterior Inscriptions Reliefs

A mixture of archaic and contemporary traits again characterizes the exterior reliefs on the Inscriptions Temple (Maudslay 1889-1902:IV:Pls. 55 and 56). Piers b, d and e represent men wearing the traditional Peten hip-cloth with a curved border. The upper torso is obscured by full-figured versions of God K held in the arms of each figure. Pier e can be identified as Pacal's grandfather, since the headdress configuration represents his nominal compound (Robertson 1979a:137-318). The fourth figure, Pier c, appears to be a woman, probably Pacal's mother (Robertson ibid:134-136), wearing the beaded skirt typical of the Peten. Each of the four figures

stands on a basal mask, as if they were stela presentations from the Early Classic, but these stucco reliefs are framed by glyphic borders of sky band motifs such as those found at Piedras Negras after 9.8.0.0.0.

B. Feminine Dress in the West

1. Piedras Negras

Stela 33 at Piedras Negras is a niche presentation in which a woman stands before an enthroned ruler on 9.10.10.0.0 or A.D. 641 (Maler 1901:Pl. 26, no. 2). The woman wears a decorated huipil and a soft turban (pl. 108). I suspect she also carries a "drum major" headdress like the one shown at Palenque on the Oval Palace Tablet (pl. 110). This headdress has a very slender form on Stela 33, because of the tendency to attenuate forms at Piedras Negras. Stela 33 is an accession ceremony between a man and a woman. It parallels a similar ceremony involving Lady Zac Kuk and Pacal on the Oval Palace Tablet.

Stela 33 is, unhappily, severely eroded. The pattern on the feminine huipil was reconstructed by Joy Mahler (1965:Fig. 3). She further comments (ibid:586) that the angularity of the designs suggests tapestry weaving. I have rendered the entire figure using the pattern sketch of Joy Mahler and the photograph of Teobert Maler (pl. 108). Stela 6 from Piedras Negras depicts another woman in a similar huipil on 9.12.15.0.0 or A.D. 686 (Morley

1938-39:V:Pl. 127a). These monuments indicate that decorated woven huipilli became typical of Piedras Negras after 9.10.0.0.0 (A.D. 632).

Stela 33 is surely not the first example of complex weaving in the Usumacinta, but we will never be able to trace its development. The pattern represents bands of tau signs (Ik glyphs) and cross-hatched triangles, with a border of repeating ilhuitl motifs (pl. 108). These elements typically occur on garments in Mexico at Teotihuacan, Monte Alban and smaller centers in Veracruz such as Los Cerros, El Faisan, Nopiloa and Remojadas (Sejourne 1966:Figs. 73,76,105,112,126,146 and 148; Caso and Bernal 1952:Figs.128-219,152,158,163,323,428-430, 435,437,442,444 and 446; Emmerich 1963:108; Johnson 1954:145; Von Winning 1968:Figs. 261 and 267).

The huipil on Stela 33 was not an imported garment (pl. 108). At least one band of tau signs was conflated with the Maya glyph Ahau, one of twenty sacred day signs in a calendar used by the Classic Maya. It is my belief that the western lowlands were influenced by a strong tradition of weaving in the Gulf Coast area. Cotton was native to this region, and most important, only on Veracruz figurines of Classic date do women appear in huipilli with densely woven patterns like those shown on Stelae 6 and 33 at Piedras Negras (pl. 296). In summary, garments with complex woven designs were probably inspired by

techniques of weaving in Classic Veracruz.

2. Palenque

The huipil was also worn at Palenque, but it was combined with beaded overlays in imitation of the beaded quexquemiltl and skirt used in the Peten (pl. 110). The Palenque huipil was undecorated, save for a border of indeterminate motifs. Nonetheless, the male hip-cloth on the Oval Palace Tablet has a border of tau (Ik) signs (pl. 110). In the Inscriptions tomb, the cloth aprons worn by several men have cross-hatched motifs and the quatrefoil element that became so characteristic of Piedras Negras in the Late Classic (M. Robertson 1983: Fig. 254). The earliest such quatrefoil motif occurs at Piedras Negras on the masculine apron of Stela 35 (9.11.10.0.0, A.D. 661), and again on the apron of the principal figure of Lintel 2 on 9.11.15.0.0 or A.D. 666 (Maler 1901:Pls. 28 and 31). There is, thus, evidence that Palenque borrowed some motifs from Piedras Negras or, conceivably, imported garments from that center. Palenque was, however, less interested in weaving. Most garments from this city during the Middle Classic, including the huipil on the Oval Palace Tablet, male hip-cloths from Houses E and C and the Temple of Inscriptions, represent plain cloth or jaguar skin that was occasionally decorated with overlays of beads.

V. Summary: The Appearance of Regional Types of Dress

Proskouriakoff (1950:113) noted the importance of archaism in the development of Classic sculpture. This is particularly true of the Peten. The costumes worn by Kan Boar and Claw Skull ca. 9.2.0.0.0 to 9.4.0.0.0 (A.D. 474-513) were seminal to later dress in the Peten, but primarily because their motifs were revived after the hiatus. Until 9.5.0.0.0 (A.D. 533), the stelae of Uaxactun, El Peru, Altar de Sacrificios and Yaxha retain many costume elements, as well as the figural compositions, of Stormy Sky's reign during the first two katuns of Baktun 9. This kind of lag is precisely what we should expect from provincial cities when imitating a fashion center.

Not until after 9.8.0.0.0 (A.D. 592), do we find monuments such as Stela 5 from Xultun, Stelae 16, 17 and 38 at Naranjo, and Stela 30 at Tikal (pls. 71, 73, 75, 78 and 190) that recall Tikal costume from approximately 9.3.0.0.0 to 9.4.0.0.0 (A.D. 494-513) in the use of mask headdresses, triplicate staffs, capes, accessory bags, beaded collars, and feathered back devices. I suspect that the impetus for such revivals may have come from Tikal itself with the ruler of Stela 17 around 9.6.0.0.0, A.D. 553 (pl. 69). Although only a fragment, this monument preserves a feathered headdress, beaded collar and faint outlines of a triplicate staff. Similarly, the

beaded ensemble that became typical of Peten women first appears on a Tikal woman at El Zapote on 9.0.0.0.0, A.D. 433 (pl. 46), at Tikal around 9.5.0.0.0, A.D. 533 (pl. 66), and subsequently, at Naranjo and Alt. de Sacrificios. Thus, the Peten emerges as a distinct region during the Middle Classic through the preservation and revival of early traits from Tikal.

In the southeast, Copan and Quirigua define a distinct type of formal dress based upon a predilection, a vogue if I may use the term, for Early Classic traits from the Peten, and specifically from monuments depicting Stormy Sky at Tikal and the royal couple of El Zapote in the first two katuns of Baktun 9. The recent discovery of early Baktun 9 stelae at both Copan and Quirigua supports Proskouriakoff's hypothesis (1950:115) that the southeast was influenced by the central Peten during the Early Classic. More recently, Robert Sharer (1978:63) has suggested that Quirigua was actually colonized by immigrants from the central Peten at the beginning of Baktun 9.

The retention of Early Classic motifs on later sculptures at Copan led Proskouriakoff (1950:115, 129-131), and then Robert Rands (1968:522), to conclude that the southeast was isolated from other regions until the end of the Middle Classic. Although this may be true, the southeast may equally well have been cognizant of

developments in other regions, and either unconsciously or deliberately chose to ignore them. A case can be made for this in the central lowlands at Caracol, a city that retained early traits throughout the Middle Classic, and at the same time, is known to have had contacts with other centers. Caracol apparently conquered Naranjo around 9.9.0.0.0 (Sosa and Reents 1980; Schele 1979MS; Beetz and Satterwaite 1981), and ruled that center for perhaps 40 years. The Middle Classic monuments of Naranjo reflect changes in Tikal costume, but I find no evidence of such developments in the Caracol sequence. Thus, in my opinion, the tendency on the part of some centers or of a particular region to preserve early features should not be attributed to geographic isolation without conclusive evidence.

In the northern lowlands, the sculptures portraying men at Calakmul and Edzna are related to monuments in the central Peten, but as Proskouriakoff observed (1950: 122-123), many traits characteristic of the Late Classic appear fully developed in this region after 9.8.0.0.0 (A.D. 592). These motifs may have precedents in the central Peten, but the monumental sequence at Tikal and Naranjo is, as yet, too weak to support this hypothesis. The women depicted at Coba, Calakmul and Tulum cannot be directly compared to Peten females. The northern centers used the beaded overlays found on Peten stelae,

but the use of the triangular quexquemiti at Tulum, and textile huipilli at Calakmul and Edzna suggests influences from the minor arts, since these articles of clothing are typical of figurines, vase paintings and the early murals of Uaxactun.

The monumental art of the western lowlands is characterized by narrative themes and costumes that are simpler or more intimate than in other parts of the Maya area. Although it is true that the earliest sculptures, Stelae 27 and 14 at Yaxchilan, are formal portraits similar to those of Tikal around 9.4.0.0.0 (A.D. 513), the scattering gesture on Stela 27 is a narrative action not found on Peten stelae (Proskouriakoff 1950:109). Subsequently, western cities such as Bonampak, Piedras Negras and Palenque began to carve figural scenes on palace lintels and wall tablets. They depict seated figures in conversation, military gatherings and accession ceremonies (pls. 101 and 110).

I have suggested that the practice of carving lintels and palace tablets was inspired by themes on Tzakol ceramics (pls. 40-41, 92 and 100). The earliest western reliefs, including Lintel 12 at Piedras Negras and a lintel from Bonampak (pl. 101) imitate the two-part panel schemes of Tzakol vessels from Tikal, Uaxactun and Kaminaljuyu (pls. 41, 92 and 100). The narrative presentations and simple costumes of these vessels are repeated on the

hiatus reliefs from the Usumacinta. In the katuns following the hiatus, it is difficult to say whether or not sculptors continued to copy themes from the minor arts, but the Usumacinta emerges as an area where the major and minor arts share many features. The niche motifs at Piedras Negras, as well as the enthroned rulers on the piers of House C at Palenque, are unusual compositions with affinities to enthroned figures on the wooden burial boards of Tikal (pl. 70). Moreover, the attention to detail on the niche stelae and stucco reliefs from Palenque resemble calligraphic elements from manuscripts. Lintel 7 from Piedras Negras (9.12.0.0.0 or A.D. 671) represents a palace gathering, the kind of scene found on Tepeu I vases after 9.6.0.0.0 (A.D. 553), and it became typical of Tepeu II ceramics around 9.12.0.0.0 (A.D. 671).

The evidence suggests that western sculptors were strongly inspired by compositions in the minor arts. This would account for the use of narrative subjects and the tendency to simplify dress. There were, however, dress motifs that were borrowed from the public stela traditions of other regions. The niche rulers of Piedras Negras wear formal mask headdresses and beaded collars such as those found in the Peten on contemporary sculptures. Palenque adopted the beaded layers worn over feminine garments in the Peten. Other features such as

strap leggings, the God K scepter and use of a round shield have precedents in the northern lowlands at Calakmul and Edzna. Thus, the tradition of the western lowlands was based upon a combination of elements from the minor arts and stela motifs from other regions.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE LATE CLASSIC (9.13.0.0.0-10.4.0.0.0)

The initial research on Maya dress by Mary Butler (1931) found few differences in the use of motifs from approximately 9.13.0.0.0 to 9.19.0.0.0 (A.D. 691-809): "The evidence pointed, in spite of the localization of certain traits, to a uniformity of costume and regalia throughout the Maya area during this period that could be considered another instance of the conformity in ceremonial affairs shown by the stela cult and the Period of Uniformity in the calendar" (Butler 1937:14). This conclusion was primarily based upon monuments, but Mary Butler's work also included ceramics and figurines from the minor arts.

Tatiana Proskouriakoff later reached the same conclusion in her study of Classic sculpture. She further called attention to western motifs in other regions: ". . . the Late Classic style achieves its highest integration at about the time or shortly after the beginning of the Period of Uniformity which Teeple noted in the inscriptions. After 9.13.0.0.0, although regional peculiarities remain, elements of costume and mannerisms of rendering appear to be freely exchanged. Particularly notable is the strengthening influence of the Usumacinta

styles on the art of the Peten and Copan." (Proskouriakoff 1950:123-241).¹⁰

I. The Western Lowlands

Many Late Classic sculptures from the Usumacinta are lintels and tablets carved inside the palaces and temples of the upper class. Dress tends to be more casual, and reflects such personal aspects as hair styles, facial features and textile patterns. The costumes must, nonetheless, have been worn in public, since no other forms of dress appear. There are, in addition, presentations which suggest outdoor events against the backdrop of a temple or palace (pl. 122), while at other times the costumes are so flamboyant that it is difficult to imagine them indoors (pls. 128-130).

The tendency to simplify monumental dress in the west probably stemmed from the practice of copying vase paintings during the hiatus period from 9.5.0.0.0 to 9.8.0.0.0 (A.D. 533-592). Early reliefs in this region, from Bonampak (pl. 101) and Piedras Negras (Lintel 12), have affinities to panel scenes on Tzakol cylinder tripods. Subsequently, it is difficult to say whether sculptors continued to borrow motifs from the minor arts, but public and private forms of dress were extremely close.

¹⁰ Proskouriakoff (1950) dates the Late Classic Period as about 9.8.0.0.0 to 10.2.0.0.0 (A.D. 592-868).

A. Piedras Negras and El Cayo

Few sculptural compositions may be considered as new subjects at Piedras Negras during the Late Classic. Most are revivals of earlier themes. The monumental record has preserved more stelae than palace reliefs, which may indicate a conservative tradition at this center. Yet, the stelae typically depict two or more figures in a narrative setting, and there is considerable development in the presentation of dress. The various sculptural themes are discussed below.

1. Accession Motifs

The niche motif begun during the Middle Classic on Stela 25 (9.8.15.0.0, A.D. 607) commemorates the accession of rulers at Piedras Negras until well into the Late Classic (Proskouriakoff 1960). In the series, including Stelae 25, 33, 1, 6, 11 and 14, each ruler is seated in a niche wearing a fairly consistent costume that should be considered as formal attire for this center (mask-featherwork headdress, beaded shoulderpiece, decorated textile hip garments and an accessory pouch). Two elements in these costumes - the pouch and occasional use of a turban on top of the headdress mask (Stela 11) - were probably originally borrowed from Tzakol vessels (Kidder et al. 1946: Figs. 204a, 205d, e and f). They also occur at Piedras Negras in the Middle Classic (Maler 1901: Pl. 26,

no. 1; Morley 1938-39:V:Pl. 119c). The textile motifs on the hip garments, although hard to discern in photographs, depict the same quatrefoil designs shown on female clothing after 9.13.0.0.0, A.D. 691 (pl. 109).

The niche stelae are probably tableaux presenting accession ceremonies. The earliest in the sequence, Stela 25 on 9.8.15.0.0 (A.D. 607) depicts a single ruler. Subsequent monuments usually include secondary figures on the front or sides, and below the niche, there are elements in low relief such as ladders, cloth strips and sacrificed captives. The women on these monuments are elaborately dressed in woven huipilli and feathered headgear. Stela 11 is notable in showing attendant figures in simple costumes on the sides of the shaft (Morley 1938-39:V:Pl. 133a and b). The simplicity of their dress - headbands with feathers and hip-cloths - resemble the simple costumes worn by attendant figures on Tepeu II vase paintings (pls. 267-268 and 295). I have previously suggested that the niche format was adapted from some source in the minor arts, and perhaps from codices. The attention to small details and background settings more closely resembles manuscript illumination than narrative scenes on ceramics.

The niche sequence ends on 9.16.15.0.0 (A.D. 765) with the accession of a standing ruler on Stela 16 (Proskouriakoff 1960:459). There is a precedent for this

composition on Stela 3 (9.14.0.0.0, A.D. 710), but the text does not pertain to accession (Maler 1901:Fig. 20). The last standing accession figure, Stela 15 on 9.17.15.0.0 (A.D. 784), is almost a three-dimensional sculpture. This monument was perhaps inspired by the high relief tradition of Late Classic sculpture at Copan. Correspondingly, Usumacinta motifs are found in the southeast.

2. Warriors

The warrior monuments of Piedras Negras and its probable dependency, El Cayo, also continue Middle Classic compositions. Piedras Negras has a long sequence of standing warriors on stelae from 9.9.15.0.0 to 9.15.5.0.0, A.D. 627-735 (Stelae 26, 31, 34, 35, 4, 7, 8 and 9). The costumes on all these sculptures include adaptations to such Mexican traits as square shields, turban platelet headgear with reptilian masks having bifid tongues as chin guards, and the trapeze-and-ray sign as a head dress motif. Ultimately, these elements can be traced back to the soldiers wearing Teotihuacan motifs on the sides of Stela 31 at Tikal on 9.0.10.0.0, A.D. 444 (pls. 38 and 39), but they undergo a more formal development at Piedras Negras. A new trait on Stela 7 (9.14.0.0.0, A.D. 710) is the frontal mantle made of feathers: a similar mantle occurs some 20 years (1 katun) later on

Stela 9 (Maler 1901:Pls. 16 and 18, no. 1). This garment is probably of Mexican origin (Kubler 1967:22), although contemporary comparisons are not available. I suspect that the mantel came from Veracruz, since Usumacinta sculptures occasionally depict elements found in this region. At Piedras Negras, for example, the protective netted hip-cloths shown on warriors (Maler 1901:Pls. 16-17 and 31) also occur at El Tajin on reliefs from the South Ball Court (Wilkerson 1980:222).

Military gatherings are curiously absent from the Late Classic art of Piedras Negras, with the exception of Stela 12 (Maler 1901:Pl. 21). The kind of group setting, first shown at Piedras Negras in the Middle Classic on Lintels 2, 4 and 12, is more typical of Late Classic reliefs at the small neighboring center of El Cayo (Greene et al. 1972:Pls. 22 and 23). The earlier example, Wall Panel 2, dated approximately as 9.13.0.0.0 to 9.16.0.0.0 (A.D. 691-750), is most similar in its composition to Lintel 5 at Piedras Negras on 9.12.0.0.0 or A.D. 671 (Morley 1933-39:V:Pl. 126b). In addition, Wall Panel 2 depicts costume elements typical of Piedras Negras such as the netted warrior's hip-cloth and quatrefoil motifs on clothing.

3. Supernatural Protectors

The representation of human or supernatural figures

in the open jaws of a reptilian head is a theme that dates back to Preclassic times in Mesoamerica, as shown on Misc. Monument 2 at Izapa and Petroglyph 1 at Chalcatzingo (Norman 1973-78:II:Pl. 64; Joralemon 1971: Fig. 142). In the Maya lowlands during the Classic Period, such presentations are largely confined to ceramics (pl. 19 and M. Coe 1978, Cat No. 11). Stela 5 at Piedras Negras (9.14.5.0.0 or A.D. 715) is the earliest known sculpture to depict this theme (Maler 1901:Pl.15,no. 2). Similar protector themes occur on the fragmentary Stela 10 at Piedras Negras, dated 9.15.10.0.0 or A.D. 740, and about the same time at Tikal and Calakmul (pls. 197 and 261).

4. Palace Themes on Lintels

A tradition of narrative presentations on palace reliefs begins at Piedras Negras around 9.5.0.0.0 (A.D. 533) with Lintel 12 (Morley 1938-39:V:Pl. 119c). This is a military audience involving an early ruler, Turtle-shell, and visitors from neighboring centers. The theme was revived by a later ruler on several reliefs around 9.12.0.0.0 (A.D. 671), including Lintels 2, 4 and 5. Lintel 12 and the subsequent reliefs have two-part compositions that divide the figural groups, using either a central text or a physical space between figures. Such presentations were probably inspired by panel schemes on Tzakol cylinders during the hiatus.

The earliest palace relief at Piedras Negras also dates to the period around 9.12.0.0.0 (A.D. 671). Lintel 7, which depicts an enthroned ruler with attendants on either side (Morley 1938-39:V:Pl. 126a), is partly destroyed, but the bare chests and simple hip-cloths of the participants resemble palace scenes on Tepeu ceramics. Piedras Negras in fact had a school of polychrome vase painting, but the published ceramics are merely sherds (Butler 1935). Only some of these fragments suggest parts of headdresses and torsos such as those found on palace reliefs (Butler 1935:Pl. 2, Nos. 1 and 2 and Pl. 4, no. 4). Mary Butler's publication also includes figurine fragments with simple elements of dress such as turbans and textile clothing (1935:Pl. 12, nos. 9-14 and Pl. 14, no. 7). It is known, however, that enthroned rulers begin to appear on ceramics in the western lowlands as early as 9.12.0.0.0, if not long before (Coggins 1975:I:291-291 and Fig. 81a and b). Later examples are found on polychrome vessels at Tonina (Becquelin and Baudez 1979:Figs. 174, 181, 182a and 183).

Another palace scene probably appeared on the fragmentary Lintel 1 at Piedras Negras (9.16.10.0.0 or A.D. 760), but only a single figure remains of a standing female wearing a skirt and chest sash (Proskouriakoff 1961:86). The costume is of interest, because the combination of the skirt and chest sash rarely occurs in

Classic Maya art. It is found on vase paintings (pl. 270), and in the monumental art of Piedras Negras (Lintel 1) and Palenque (pls. 121 and 122). The tradition of palace scenes on architectural reliefs culminates at Piedras Negras with Lintel 3 on 9.17.11.16.1 (Morley 1938-39:V:Pl. 146). The composition and simple costumes recall Lintel 7, but the rendering of the details exemplifies the Late Classic elegance of Usumacinta sculpture. Sylvanus Morley (ibid:III:221) considered it the most superb production of ancient sculpture in the New World.

5. The Scattering Theme

Piedras Negras may have borrowed the scattering theme from Yaxchilan, where the composition appears on Stela 27 around 9.4.0.0.0 (A.D. 513) and later monuments from this center (Morley 1938-39:V:Pls. 100c and d, 101d and 103c). The costumes worn at Yaxchilan for this ceremony are elaborate, and the same can said of similar presentations at Piedras Negras on Stelae 2, 13 and 32 from approximately 9.10.15.0.0 to 9.17.0.0.0 (Maler 1901:Pls. 15, no. 1, 18, no. 2 and 26, no. 1). These figures wear mask-turban headdresses, beaded collars over featherwork or textile shoulderpieces, heavy belts with maskettes, and footgear. They represent a striking contrast to the simple attire shown on palace reliefs. Yet, the scattering composition on Stela 40 (9.15.5.0.0 or A.D.

735 reveals an underlying tendency to simplify monumental dress at Piedras Negras. Here, a kneeling ruler wears only a soft textile turban, back mask and woven hip-cloth (Morley 1938-39:V:Pl. 135b).

6. Textile Motifs

Early examples of decorated, woven textiles in the western lowlands are found at Piedras Negras on Stelae 6 and 33 from 9.10.10.0.0 to 9.12.15.0.0, A.D. 641-686 (Morley 1938-39:V:Pl. 127a; Maler 1901:Pl 26, no. 2). These stelae include women wearing long huipilli with densely patterned designs (pl. 108). Since the motifs and density of the pattern resemble garments shown on figurines from Veracruz (pl. 296), I have previously suggested that complex weaving developed in the Usumacinta as the result of contacts with Mexican groups in the Gulf Coast area. The huipilli on Stelae 6 and 33 were not imported garments, since they include Maya glyphic motifs, and they were surely not the first attempts at such patterns (pl. 108).

Subsequent monuments at Piedras Negras portraying women, Stelae 1,3 and 14 from 9.13.15.0.0 to 9.16.15.0.0 (A.D. 706-765), depict a huipil with a quatrefoil motif placed at regular intervals over the field of the garment (pl. 109). The element can have either square or rounded sides and resembles the glyphic sign for completion or

zero, although this coincidence may be accidental. Smaller motifs representing the tau (Ik) glyph run along the border of the hem. The use of what I will call an open field design on these later sculptures, as opposed to the denser patterns of Stelae 6 and 33, also has precedents in the Middle Classic. Quatrefoil motifs are found on the frontal sashes of masculine hip-cloths after 9.11.0.0.0 (A.D. 651) on Stelae 35 and Lintel 2 (Maler 1901:Pls. 28 and 31). Thus, while the openwork quatrefoil pattern was not exploited until Late Classic times, it was already in use during the Middle Classic.

The depiction of such complex woven textiles in the west arouses curiosity as to their original appearance, since contemporary Maya groups have a vital tradition of weaving using vibrant colors and many patterns. Similar dyes may have been used in ancient times, but they are not shown on sculptures. At Piedras Negras, for example, a number of monuments preserve their original colors (Stelae 1,3,4 and 14). On these sculptures, the bodies and garments were largely painted in a red pigment, while blue was painted over featherwork, headgear and jewelry (Morley 1938-39:III:192,281; Maler 1901:46,48). The same is true at Palenque and Copan where, at both centers, red is the primary color for figures and clothing, with blue-green and yellow

reserved for small details of jewelry and headgear. Although it has been argued that these pigments were "sacred colors" (M. Robertson 1979b:309,313,322), it could equally well be said that they were the most durable colors available for outdoor monuments.

B. Palenque

Regional traits are best revealed through comparisons among cities. At Piedras Negras, local features included the use of accessory pouches, turban-mask headdresses, decorated textile clothing, and simple elements of costume that have parallels on Tepeu vase paintings. Traits peculiar to Palenque were deity figures as hand accessories, coiffures shown underneath headgear, and a predilection for scant dress. As in ancient Greece, Palenque figures are conspicuous for their seeming nudity, as if the ornament and drapery were but incidental factors in the rendering of the human form. In fact, most stucco reliefs at this city were modeled in the nude; the clothing and other articles of costume were then applied in successive layers (M. Robertson 1979b:302).

The monumental art of Piedras Negras has parallels in the minor arts, especially on vase paintings in the use of narrative themes and simple dress motifs. At Palenque, few compositions appear to be narrative events such as those found on Tepeu ceramics, with the exception of decapitation ceremonies on stucco reliefs and

the dance presentation on Temple 14 (Maudslay 1889-1902: IV·Pls. 34 and 37). Most compositions at Palenque seem to be familial groups commemorating the passage of power from one ruler to another, including the three Tablets of the Cross Group, the Palace Tablet, the Slaves Tablet, and the stucco reliefs of House A (pls. 118-122). The prototype for this kind of composition is, of course, the Oval Palace Tablet from the Middle Classic (pl. 110).

Rather than attempt to divide the art of Palenque into themes, it is more profitable to examine disparate sources of influence upon Palenque costumes. Here, there is ample room for subdivisions, as Palenque seems to have freely borrowed traditional motifs from the past and present, and perhaps, some elements from the minor arts. Such eclecticism was a marked feature of Palenque dress in the Middle Classic, and continued to be so after 9.13.0.0.0 (A.D. 691).

1. Elements Borrowed from Piedras Negras

Palenque probably adopted a number of features from Piedras Negras. It is impossible to be certain of these loan motifs because of the difficulty in dating Palenque reliefs. Nonetheless, certain traits occur infrequently at Palenque that are typical of Piedras Negras. Most garments, for example, represent undecorated foundation weaves, but on the Tablet of the Slaves (around 9.15.0.0.0

or A.D. 730), the seated ruler wears a hip-cloth with a quatrefoil motif on the sash (pl. 121). Virtually identical hip-cloths with quatrefoil designs are found at Piedras Negras by 9.11.0.0.0 or A.D. 651 (Maler 1901: Pls. 26, 28 and 31). In addition, the Palenque ruler (pl. 121) also carries a pouch, which occurs elsewhere at Palenque in the Cross Group (pl. 117), as well as on the stucco reliefs of House A (Maudslay 1889-1902:IV:Pl. 8). Many figures carry similar pouches at Piedras Negras from Middle Classic times onward. A final trait probably borrowed from Piedras Negras is the occasional depiction of turban headgear at Palenque (Maudslay 1889-1902:IV: Pls. 10 and 44).

2. Traditional Elements from Peten Sculptures

During the Middle Classic, one of the more prominent Peten motifs at Palenque is the use of beaded layers over the huipil on the Oval Palace Tablet (pl. 110). In Late Classic times, the same beaded layers occur again at Palenque on Temple 14 (pl. 125); on the stucco reliefs from Houses A and D; a Bodega fragment; and at the neighboring center at Xupa (Maudslay 1889-1902:IV:Pls. 10 and 36; Schele and Mathews 1979:No. 82; Maler 1901:Fig. 4). More subtle features of Palenque dress are deliberate revivals from early times in the Peten. The Palenque hip-cloth, for example, often curves inward toward the

thighs (Maudslay 1889-1902:IV:Pls. 10,11,55 and 56), as it does on Early Classic figures in the central lowlands. Networks of beads over these hip-cloths (Maudslay 1889-1902:IV:Pls. 32 and 37) recall the reign of Stormy Sky at Tikal during the first two katuns of Baktun 9. The pendant chain attached to the belt (pls. 115 and 116) revives a trait characteristic of the earliest dress from the core zone in late Baktun 8. These archaistic elements were not new to Palenque in the Late Classic. They were all present on stucco figures from the Temple of Inscriptions at the close of the Middle Classic.

C. Yaxchilan

The Late Classic Period at Yaxchilan was dominated by the Jaguar family through the reigns of Shield Jaguar, his son Bird Jaguar, and his son known as Shield Jaguar's Descendant or Shield Jaguar II (Proskouriakoff 1963; 1964). This lineage can be traced back to ancestral rulers in texts on the lintels of Structure 12, including a Bird Jaguar ruling on 9.2.0.0.0 (A.D. 474) and a Knot-eye Jaguar at 9.6.6.7.19 (A.D. 559), but the pictorial record is scant until the appearance of Shield Jaguar at the beginning of the Late Classic Period. I have divided discussion of Yaxchilan dress into masculine and feminine sections, because a great many women are portrayed as wives of the various rulers.

i. Masculine Formal Dress

Shield Jaguar was born shortly after 9.10.15.0.0 and probably died on 9.15.10.17.14, which gives him a life span of over 80 years from approximately A.D. 650-740 (Proskouriakoff 1963:164). Curiously, few monuments can be attributed to this ruler. His reign is primarily known from inscriptions. Numerous representations are found of Bird Jaguar, although he ruled from only 9.16.1.0.0 to 9.16.17.6.12 or A.D. 751-767 (Proskouriakoff 1964). His heir, Shield Jaguar II, appears on several monuments from 9.16.5.0.0 to 9.18.0.0.0 (A.D. 755-789).

a. Shield Jaguar

Stela 2 is much eroded, but has a Long Count date of 9.12.15.0.0 (A.D. 685), and thus, presumably represents Shield Jaguar (Maler 1903:Pl. 72,1). What remains of the sculpture ties Stela 2 to the Middle Classic. It illustrates a hand scattering event such as those shown on Stelae 4 and 27 around 9.4.0.0.0 or A.D. 513 (Morley 1938-39:V:Pl. 103b and c). The latter are related in their dress and three-quarter profile views to formal regalia in the Peten. Stela 2 continues this tradition: the figure wears an elaborate mask headdress with feather plumes, jeweled collarpiece, textile cape, heavy maskette belt, and sandals.

The same type of costume is better preserved on

Stela 6, which depicts another scattering ritual for Shield Jaguar (Morley 1938-39:V:Pl. 101,d). Stela 6 has an Initial Series date of 9.11.16.10.13 (A.D. 668), but the style date places it at 9.14.0.0.0 $\pm$ 2 (Proskouriakoff 1950:198). The style date is a better estimate, as the strict profile stance conforms to the development of Maya sculpture around 9.14.0.0.0 (A.D. 710). In addition, the material scattered from the hand is expressed, for the first time at Yaxchilan, as curving streams defined by beaded outlines and glyphs. Similar glyphic streams occur at Palenque around 9.14.0.0.0 in the Cross Group (pls. 115 and 120).

Lintel 32 on 9.13.17.15.13 portrays Shield Jaguar in a different costume having a drum major headdress over a reptilian mask, fret apron panel with a "Sun God" face, manikin God K scepter as a hand accessory and a featherwork back device (pl. 124). These elements, which are new to Yaxchilan, have precedents at other centers. The drum major headdress appears at Palenque during the reign of Pacal around 9.10.15.0.0 or A.D. 645 (pl. 110). The fret apron depicting a "Sun God" face occurs at Piedras Negras on Stela 4 at 9.13.10.0.0 (A.D. 701), but it has earlier antecedents in the northern lowlands after 9.9.10.0.0 (A.D. 622) at Uxul on Stela 4 and Calakmul on Stela 28 (pls. 95 and 98).

Similarly, the God K scepter was used at Calakmul and Edzna before the end of the Middle Classic (pls. 95 and 106). Western cities such as Palenque and Yaxchilan seem, thus, to have borrowed such elements from the north (Proskouriakoff 1950:122-123), although contacts with the Peten should not be discounted. In any event, the preserved record suggests that Yaxchilan adopted these motifs from Palenque and Piedras Negras.

Another feature of Shield Jaguar's formal dress reveals influence from Piedras Negras, and ultimately, from the northern lowlands. On Lintel 32, as well as Stela 6, the hip-cloth worn by the ruler is so short that it does not cover the thighs; only the end strips, knotted in front and back of profile legs, are visible on Stela 6 (Morley 1938-39:V:Pl. 101,d), and the fret apron completely obscures the undergarment on Lintel 32 (pl. 124). A third portrayal of Shield Jaguar on Lintel 53 compares favorably to the costume on Lintel 32 and bears the same date (9.13.17.15.13), but replaces the fret apron with a short hip-cloth having a netted pattern (pl. 125). This garment immediately recalls the short heavily woven hip-cloths worn by soldiers at Piedras Negras some 42 years earlier on Lintel 2 at 9.11.15.0.0 (Maler 1901:Pl. 31).

The concept of a shortened hip-cloth first occurs in the northern lowlands (Proskouriakoff 1950:120),

where it is typical of Calakmul after 9.9.10.0.0, and at Edzna around 9.12.0.0.0 (pls. 92,95-96 and 106-107). Proskouriakoff (ibid) further traces the adoption of scant hip-cloths in the west to Piedras Negras during the Middle Classic, since they are shown on Lintels 2 and 4 by 9.11.15.0.0 (Maler 1901:Pls. 31 and 32). Although these lintels depict warriors, rather than rulers in formal attire, I believe Proskouriakoff's observation to be a valid one. Beginning with the Middle Classic Period at Piedras Negras, the art of western centers, and apparently much human activity, involved warfare. Later representations of warriors at Yaxchilan, Bonampak, La Mar, La Pasadita and other western cities typically portray warriors with scant hip-cloths, which suggest that the jungle battles fought by the Maya required freedom of movement in the legs. In summary, the frequency of warfare in the west may account for the adoption of an abbreviated hip-cloth as a standard masculine garment. I can draw a parallel with a common article of male costume today - the cravat or tie - which originated as a military neck scarf in seventeenth century Europe (Boucher 1966:428).

b. Bird Jaguar

The artistic programs of Shield Jaguar's reign were often copied by sculptors working for Bird Jaguar. Thus,

while numerous monuments depict this ruler, they can usually be analyzed as variations on a theme established by Shield Jaguar. For example, Lintels 32 and 53 are formal portrayals of Shield Jaguar wearing a drum major headdress, elaborate jewelry, heavy belt, featherwork back devices, and he carries the God K scepter that appears on stelae at other cities (pls. 124 and 125). Whatever the significance of the bundle held by women on these lintels, the ornate costumes of Shield Jaguar indicate that he is dressed for a public outdoor occasion. If nothing else, it is difficult to imagine the lateral spread of the featherwork back devices inside a Maya palace. Most important, the drum major headdress was given to western rulers at the time of their accession (pl. 110). It therefore represents a symbol of authority, and can be compared to the crown worn by European monarchs for state occasions.

The costumes worn by Shield Jaguar on Lintels 32 and 53, both dated 9.13.17.15.13 (A.D. 708) were essentially duplicated for Bird-Jaguar on Lintels 1, 2, 5, 42 and 54 from 9.16.1.0.0-9.16.6.0.0 or AD 751-757 (pls. 126-130). Even particular features such as the netted hip-cloth, shown with Shield Jaguar on Lintel 33 (pl. 125), occurs again with Bird Jaguar on Lintels 1 and 42 (pls. 126 and 129). As a group, the Bird Jaguar monuments reveal internal changes in sculptural carving from the

time of Shield Jaguar. For example, Lintels 32 and 53 conform to Proskouriakoff's (1950) "Ornate Phase" in their attention to details and relatively contained, static figures (pls. 124 and 125). The Bird Jaguar monuments illustrate a tendency to exaggerate the size of headdress ornaments; the featherwork back devices are wider; and figural outlines have been given more movement by curving the neck and shoulder downward (pls. 126-130). Such traits characterize the "Dynamic Phase" (Proskouriakoff 1950:139), but they represent artistic conventions rather than changes in motifs. The only possible new elements of costume for Bird Jaguar are the bird scepter (pl. 127), and a hip-cloth that falls unevenly over the legs (pl. 130). While I know of no precedent for the scepter, the loosely folded hip-cloth is found at Piedras Negras by 9.11.10.0.0 (Maler 1901:Pl. 28), and worn by Shield-Jaguar on Stela 15 around 9.15.0.0.0 (Maler 1903:Pl. 79,1).

Another sculptural program repeated by Bird Jaguar was the scattering ritual presented with Shield Jaguar on Stelae 2 and 6 from approximately A.D. 688-710 (Maler 1903:Pl. 27,1; Morley 1938-39:V:Pl. 101d). Stelae 1 and 3 depict the same event with Bird Jaguar around 9.16.10.0.0 or A.D. 760 (Maler 1903:Pl. 69; Morley 1938-39:V:Pl. 100c). Some of the monuments are fragmentary, but as a group, they illustrate a costume for both rulers

based upon mask and featherwork headgear, heavy beaded collarpieces, and a wide belt with crossed bands and large maskettes.

There remain a number of monuments from the reign of Bird Jaguar - Lintels 3,7,9,33,50 and 52 - that seem to depict formal attire, yet introduce different features. Lintels 33 and 50 perhaps recall the dress and presentation of Shield Jaguar on St.16 (Morley, 1938-39:V:Pl. 104,c), particularly in the use of a circular shaped featherwork back device and wooden staff. However, Bird Jaguar wears a peculiar headdress on Lintel 33, shaped like a large curl, and it recurs on Lintels 3,7 and 52 (pls. 132-134 and 166). Lintel 52, dated 9.16.15.0.0 (A.D. 765), also betrays cursory execution in the carving, which is one of several "decadent traits" that presage the end of Classic Maya sculpture (Proskouriakoff 1950). More disturbing is Lintel 9, the latest monument associated with Bird Jaguar on 9.16.17.6.12 (pl. 135). Here, the tendency to elongate figures and accessories, and to load the head gear with such non-Classic motifs as small serpents and miniature scepters can be compared with only very late stelae in the southern Peten around 9.18.0.0.0 or A.D. 799 (I Graham 1967:Figs. 7,17 and 44).

c. Shield Jaguar II

Most formal presentations of the last known ruler at Yaxchilan, Shield Jaguar II, are monuments in which he

appears with his father, Bird Jaguar, or his maternal grandfather from Bonampak, Great Skull, including Lintels 2, 52, 58 and Stela 1, and possibly, Lintel 2 from the neighboring small site of La Pasadita. These reliefs date from approximately 9.16.1.0.0 to 9.16.15.0.0 (A.D. 751-765). Shield Jaguar II was merely a youth during these years, and he is so portrayed on the various monuments (pls. 127, 134, 136 and 137). He succeeded to the throne at the age of 20 around 9.17.0.0.0 (A.D. 770). Unfortunately, few sculptures are preserved from the ruler's actual reign, making the analysis of late motifs somewhat uncertain. Proskouriakoff (1964:195) regarded Lintel 52 as later than its date (9.16.5.0.0), because she saw in the carving decadent traits characteristic of very late reliefs at Yaxchilan, such as the rigidity and simplification of figural outlines, and at the same time, tendencies toward flamboyance and exaggeration of inessential details (pl. 134). The same may be said of the undated Lintel 58 and Lintel 2 from La Pasadita, dated 9.16.15.0.0 (pls. 136 and 137).

I am reluctant to place any of these reliefs as later than the reign of Bird Jaguar, but agree that they reveal simpler, more static figures, and some costume motifs - headdress elements, necklaces and back belt masks - have been given exaggerated attention. Moreover, the tiered headgear of superimposed masks at La

Pasadita is a new feature (pl. 137). It would be better to regard tendencies toward simplification, flamboyant details and new motifs as changes in the style of Yaxchilan carving at the end of Bird Jaguar's lifetime. They would logically continue in the reign of his son, Shield Jaguar II.

Three monuments are securely dated to the reign of Shield Jaguar II, and they continue to illustrate late qualities found on sculptures toward the end of Bird Jaguar's rule. Stela 7 on 9.17.10.0.0 (A.D. 780) revives the scattering gesture shown with Bird Jaguar on Stelae 1 and 3 (pl. 131). The simplified figural outlines and attention to small details are related to Lintel 58 at Yaxchilan and Lintel 2 from La Pasadita. Parenthetically, glyphic evidence in the text to Stela 7 strongly indicates that the scattering gesture represents a blood-letting rite.

The two other sculptures depicting Shield Jaguar II introduce seemingly new motifs. Stela 4 on 9.17.4.15.3 (A.D. 774) is a commemorative portrait of the ruler as a warrior (pl. 139). Although the subject of this relief concerns warfare, it does not belong in the next section on war dress, because it does not depict Shield Jaguar II in actual military attire, but rather in a more elaborate costume which was probably never worn in battle. The prototype for this kind of presentation in the west

is found at Lacanha toward the end of the Middle Classic on 9.8.0.0.0 (A.D. 592), where the figure has a round shield, staff spear, netted protective hip-cloth, and a platelet helmet with a medallion (pl. 103). This monument is related to another stela from Lacanha, of the same date, depicting a warrior with a platelet helmet and square Mexican shield (pl. 104). Both portrayals can ultimately be traced back to the warrior figures on the sides of Stela 31 at Tikal (pls. 38 and 39). By 9.17.4.15.3, the Late Classic representation of Shield Jaguar II includes a lattice staff with a spearhead, which is a new feature, and instead of a platelet helmet, the Yaxchilan ruler wears a mask headdress such as that typically worn by rulers in formal attire on stelae. In addition, the proportions of the headdress are larger than previously, in relation to the rest of the human figure, and details such as the reptilian nose, jade headband diadem and featherwork have been exaggerated.

The last monument depicting Shield Jaguar II is a lintel now in the Fort Worth Museum (pl. 140). Dated 9.17.12.13.17 (A.D. 801), this sculpture illustrates an interior palace scene with Shield Jaguar sitting on a throne beneath a curtain. The subject is the presentation of captives to the ruler by one of his military lieutenants. Again, while the relief concerns warfare, it differs from other such lintels at Yaxchilan, where

a few figures are clustered together in military dress against an indefinite background. Here, the palace setting, casual dress of the ruler, and spread of figural groupings are reminiscent of narrative reliefs from Piedras Negras, such as Lintel 7 on 9.12.0.0.0, A.D. 681, and Lintel 3 on 9.16.10.0.0, A.D. 760 (Morley 1938-39:V:Pls. 126a and 146). Ever better correspondences can be found on vase paintings in the Tepeu 2 sequence beginning around A.D. 670 or 9.12.0.0.0 (Robicsek and Hales 1981:#5).

2. War Dress

Next to formal portrayals of rulers, warfare is the most common theme in the sculpture of Yaxchilan and related centers (Bonampak and La Pasadita). There are, again, repetitions of particular themes between the reigns of Shield Jaguar and Bird Jaguar. Lintel 26, for example, presents an intimate meeting between Shield Jaguar, dressed as a warrior, and an unidentified woman on 9.14.12.6.12 (pl. 141). The same program occurs with Bird Jaguar and one of his wives approximately 21 years later on Lintel 41 on 9.16.4.1.1 (pl. 142). In view of such correspondences, or in other words, given that the dress motifs undergo little change, it is more interesting to analyze the reliefs as a single category in order to the variety and possibilities of military costume.

a. Headgear

The simplest type of war head dress was a *coiffure* that swept the hair up and tied it with ribbons. This kind of hair style was basic to Yaxchilan, and appears not only on prisoners, who tend to be stripped of their clothing, but also on rulers dressed in casual attire (pls. 143-147). Other war headdresses include a flat hat with feathers (pls. 148 and 149), and a round turban that seems to have been made of woven cotton or encrusted with beads (pls. 138, 140 and 150). Both types of head dress can be traced back to the Early Classic in the central Peten. The flat plumed turbans are shown on a vessel found at Tikal (Coggins 1975:II:Fig. 57b), while a round turban is worn by one of the soldiers on the sides of St.31 (pl. 38). While it is not known when or how these motifs reached the western lowlands, the round turban appears during the Middle Classic at Lacanha on 9.8.0.0.0 or A.D. 592 (pl. 104). Both headdresses are characteristic of Piedras Negras by the end of the Middle Classic (Maler 1901:Pls. 27, 28 and 31).

During Late Classic times, Shield Jaguar wears the flat feathered turban on Lintel 45 (pl. 148), but on most representations of him as a warrior, he wears mask and feathered headdresses, as shown on Lintel 4 (pl. 153), and on Stelae 18 and 20 (Maler 1903:Pl. 77 and Fig. 74). Similar headgear was used by Bird Jaguar and his

successor (pls. 138-139 and 142-143). The round turban occurs on lieutenant or companion figures at smaller centers using the Yaxchilan emblem glyph around 9.17.0.0.0 or A.D. 770 (pls. 138 and 140). Some Tepeu 2 vases also show the turban on such figures in warrior scenes (pls. 162-165).

b. Garments

The warrior body dress of Shield Jaguar typically includes a scant hip-cloth, identifiable by knotted strips in front and back of the legs; a protective belt of beads and tinklers; a mask attached to the back of the belt; and a woven or cotton tufted scarf over the chest (pls. 145 and 153). A sleeveless tunic is also shown on Lintel 26 (pl. 141), and on Stelae 18 and 20 (Maler 1903:Pl. 77 and Fig. 74). With the exception of the scarf, this attire is identical to the war dress of Piedras Negras on Lintel 4 at the end of the Middle Classic on 9.11.15.0.0 (Maler 1901:Pl. 32). The scarf has no precedent in sculpture, but appears on Tepeu vases worn by animal figures (deity impersonators) in "Dance after death" scenes (Quirarte 1979:Fig. 8-2). The tunic also occurs on ceramics (pls. 162-165).

At Yaxchilan, Bird Jaguar also wears a tunic and scarf on Lintel 16, but on Lintels 8 and 41, as well as on Stela 11 (Maler, 1903:2:Pl. 74,1), a short cape is

substituted (pls. 142 and 143). On rather slim evidence, the fragmentary Lintel 44 may depict Shield Jaguar with a similar cape (pl. 152). On the very latest monuments, Shield Jaguar II has a cape on Lintel 1 from La Pasadita but wears a long tunic on Lintel 12 at Yaxchilan itself (pls. 138 and 144). Thus, by 9.16.1.0.0, the shoulder cape and tunic seem to have been alternate garments for the upper torso. More important in looking at this clothing is the emphasis placed on the torso. The garments reveal that Maya warfare demanded freedom of movement in the legs, hence scant hip-cloths; but for obvious reasons, the abdomen and chest were protected with heavy belts, tunics or capes and cotton scarves. The representation of such body dress further indicates that the military headgear shown in the art, no matter how elaborate or seemingly impractical, was actually worn in battle.

3. Casual Dress

Simple or casual dress is rarely shown at Yaxchilan. The few instances of men illustrate rulers with hair ribbons and ornaments, rather than headdresses; necklaces are paired down to a single strand or tubular bar; a textile cape is sometimes worn; most important, heavy ceremonial belts are abandoned in favor of textile cloths wrapped around the waist (pls. 145-147). This is the kind of intimate dress found on Late Classic wall panels

at Palenque and Piedras Negras, but in general, the art of Yaxchilan is more concerned with commemorations of rulers as public figures, even though most of the presentations appear on lintels.

4. Female Dress

A great many women are portrayed at Yaxchilan, and most can be identified as royal wives (Mathews 1980MS). Shield Jaguar married a Lady Fist Fish and Lady Ik Skull, both of whom are associated with Yaxchilan emblem glyphs. Bird Jaguar married Lady Great Skull from Bonampak, Lady Six Tun Ik from an unknown center, and Lady Jaguar from Tikal. All of these women wear huipilli with patterns which are based upon designs typical of Piedras Negras. Toward the close of the Middle Classic, Piedras Negras began to decorate the end strips of masculine hip-cloths with quatrefoil motifs (Maler 1901:Pls. 28,31 and 32), and the same motifs appear on the huipil of a woman at this city on 9.13.15.0.0 or A.D. 706 (pl. 109). Similar quatrefoil motifs appear on garments worn by Shield Jaguar on Lintel 24 some six years later and again on the huipil worn by his wife, Lady Fist Fish, on Lintel 25 (pis. 145 and 154). Thus, Yaxchilan seems to have adopted both the huipil and textile motifs of Piedras Negras.

Despite these similarities, Yaxchilan rapidly

established its own forms of textile decoration. At Piedras Negras, the huipilli (Stelae 1 and 3) are based upon an openwork design. The quatrefoils are placed at regular but widely spaced intervals against a plain background (pl. 109). Yaxchilan favored densely crowded patterns (pls. 155 and 156). In addition, there was a tendency to square off elements that are round at Piedras Negras. The round quatrefoils on the huipil of Lintel 25 at Yaxchilan are most reminiscent of masculine and feminine textile decoration at Piedras Negras, but they are not characteristic of Yaxchilan (pl. 154). The combined lintels of Yaxchilan indicate that textile patterns covered garments with geometric diamond shaped elements filled with smaller motifs (pls. 124, 128, 141-142, 147, 154-158 and 159-160).

When I first examined the women of Yaxchilan, I was dismayed to find such variation among monuments so close in time. It was not until I separated the wives of Shield Jaguar from those of Bird Jaguar that similarities in their dress began to emerge.¹¹ In summary, the later women revived motifs established during the reign of Shield Jaguar. For example, the huipil worn by Lady Fist Fish on Lintel 24 (9.13.17.15.12) occurs again with Lady Six Tun Ik on Lintel 15 (9.16.17.2.4), the only

¹¹ The various wives of the two rulers have been identified by associated texts, according to unpublished notes from Peter Mathews (1980MS).

difference being a 45 degree change in the direction of the pattern (pls. 145 and 156). Lintel 17 (undated) depicts Lady Jaguar of Tikal in a version of the quatrefoil gown worn by Lady Fist Fish on 9.14.11.15.1 (pls. 154 and 158).

Such comparisons prove even more revealing in the case of Shield Jaguar's second wife, Lady Ik Skull, shown on Lintels 32 and 53. The huipil on Lintel 32 (9.13.17.15.3) uses dotted diamonds within the framework of a larger diamond pattern (pl. 124). During the reign of Bird Jaguar, similar patterns are found on Lady Six Tun Ik on 9.16.4.1.1 (pl. 142), and again with Lady Jaguar of Tikal on 9.16.1.8.6 (pl. 160). On Lintel 53 (9.13.17.15.13), Lady Ik Skull wears a plain huipil with small motifs on only the hem and borders (pl. 125). This kind of costume, which was probably painted with interior motifs, resembles the dress of several women after 9.16.1.0.0 (pls. 126, 130-131 and 161), who were associated with Bird Jaguar and his son, Shield Jaguar II.

The women associated with Bird Jaguar also borrowed head dress elements from the time of Shield Jaguar, but it is my impression that headgear was considerably more variable than clothing. Lintel 17 (pl. 158) reproduces the kind of rosette turban with trapeze-and-ray signs depicted on Lintel 24 (pl. 145), and I suspect that the headdresses worn by Lady Great Skull Zero (pls. 130 and

157) were modeled after that of Lintel 32 (pl. 124). These headdresses include similar motifs such as tripartite signs, jaguar tails and beaded tassels. However, feminine head dress is better examined as configurations belonging to particular females, especially when dealing with more casual presentations such as turbans and decorated hair (pls. 147, 154, 156 and 158).

D. Bonampak and Lacanha

Bonampak and Lacanha were small neighboring cities with lineage ties to Yaxchilan, but few monuments are known from these centers (Proskouriakoff 1963, 1964; Mathews 1980). The early Middle Classic lintel from Bonampak around 9.5.0.0.0 (A.D. 533) establishes a basis for narrative reliefs in the western lowlands, and it is one of the first such compositions to present figures in simple dress (pl. 101). Since there are precedents for this type of scene on Tzakol cylinder tripods, I have previously suggested that western sculptors were influenced by ceramics traded from the Peten, or possibly from the Guatemalan highlands at the beginning of the Middle Classic Period (9.2.0.0.0 or A.D. 474).

Three monuments survive from around 9.8.0.0.0 (A.D. 592), including stelae from Lacanha and Lintel 4 from Bonampak. The Lacanha sculptures depict the kind of warrior dress that was to become typical of Piedras

Negras and Yaxchilan in the Late Classic (pls. 103 and 104). The Bonampak relief, on the other hand, presents a more conservative program. Here, the bust of the ruler is shown with a ceremonial bar, the most common accessory of Peten rulership from earliest times onward (pl. 102). In addition, the curving beaded headband is an archaistic feature characteristic of Tzakol ceramics and jade plaques from the Peten during the Early Classic (pls. 12 and 18). Thus, although an architectural relief, Lintel 4 emerges as a deliberate attempt to restate the Peten tradition. It is most similar to the now eroded but still visible figure of a standing ruler holding a ceremonial bar on Lintel 36 in Structure 12 at Yaxchilan. The latest date in the lintel program of this building, 9.7.15.5.6, places Lintel 36 close in time to Lintel 4 at Bonampak (9.8.9.15.11).

Subsequently, nothing is known of Bonampak or Lacanha until the beginning of the Late Classic Period (9.13.0.0.0), and even then, the monumental sequence is not well represented. Sculptured Stone 1 from Bonampak, best placed at 9.13.0.0.0 or A.D. 691 (Proskouriakoff 1950:118; Mathews 1980:72), is a panel composition depicting an accession ceremony in which the enthroned lord receives a Jester God maskette on a cloth headband from several attendants (pl. 175).¹² The simple costumes worn

¹² The Jester God headband, worn alone or as a diadem under more elaborate headgear, appears on many late

by all four figures, as well as the presentation of the ruler on a bench or cushion, resembles contemporary western reliefs such as the Oval Palace Tablet from Palenque around 9.12.0.0.0 or A.D. 671 (pl. 110), and Lintel 7 at Piedras Negras on 9.12.10.0.0 (Morley 1938-39:V:Pl. 126a).

Several katuns later on 9.15.15.0.0 (A.D. 745), Lintel 1 from Lacanha portrays a seated ruler in simple attire, but he holds the ceremonial bar traditionally associated with formal regalia (Coe and Benson 1966: 26-35). This accessory is a provincial trait, since most western centers, as well as cities in other regions, replaced the ceremonial bar with the manikin God K scepter as a symbol of royal authority after 9.15.0.0.0 or A.D. 671 (Proskouriakoff 1950:123). Although Lintel 1 comes from Lacanha, it portrays Knot-eye Jaguar from Bonampak, which indicates that both centers were ruled by the same man (Mathews 1980:70). In summary, on the basis of the two reliefs, Bonampak appears to have been a minor center, but cognizant of artistic trends in the west, and a city with dynastic ties to Yaxchilan.

More monuments were erected at Bonampak during the subsequent reign of Chaan-Muan. This ruler may have been the son of Knotted-eye Jaguar, and he also seems

monuments at Palenque, Yaxchilan and other western centers (pls. 110 and 129). It seems to have been one of many symbols which represented royal power and inherited right to the throne (Schele 1974:48-50).

to have married a woman from Yaxchilan (Mathews ibid). Not surprisingly, the costumes worn by Chaan-Muan and other late figures at Bonampak (after 9.17.0.0.0 or A.D. 770) are related to Yaxchilan motifs. There are, in addition, elements which relate Bonampak to Piedras Negras. The various reliefs, including lintels and stelae, as well as the well known murals from Structure 1, will be discussed as formal attire, war dress, and mixed forms of costume on the murals of Structure 1.

1. Formal Dress

a. Men

Stela 2 from Bonampak (9.17.5.8.9 or A.D. 775) fully belongs to the monumental tradition of commemorative public sculpture. In this case, the profile figure of Chaan-Muan is framed by two women, who are thought to be his mother and wife, Lady Yax-rabbit from Yaxchilan (Mathews 1980:60-61). Chaan-Muan's costume includes woven sandals; jeweled calf bands; a decorated textile hip-cloth; back mask tied to the waist with a sash; jeweled collarpiece with maskettes; and a tiered head-dress of superimposed masks (pl. 167). While similar costumes are found at Yaxchilan (pls. 131 and 155), the closest parallel occurs at its neighboring center and probable satellite, La Pasadita, on Lintel 2, dated 9.16.15.0.0 or A.D. 765 (pl. 137). The most important

motif linking these two monuments - Lintel 2 from La Pasadita and Stela 2 at Bonampak - is the tiered headgear of superimposed masks, as this type of head dress rarely appears at western centers in the Late Classic.

Stela 1 (9.17.10.0.0 or A.D. 779) further ties Bonampak dress to Yaxchilan (pl. 168). The short cape and shield attached to the forearm of Chaan-Muan are military motifs at Yaxchilan. The lattice staff occurs only at Yaxchilan on Stela 4, dated 9.17.15.0.0 or A.D. 785, and on another stela thought to be from the Bonampak area (pls. 139 and 169). Nonetheless, none of these sculptures seem to be portrayals of warriors dressed for battle, but rather formal costumes honoring the prowess of rulers. Warfare becomes such a dominant activity in the west during the Late Classic that it tends to blur attempts to define categories of dress.

b. Women

In a brief discussion of Bonampak, George Kubler (1969:12-13) observes that the murals and monuments reveal strong resemblances to Yaxchilan in composition, expression and iconographic type, but some sculptures suggest influence from Piedras Negras, particularly the tendency to elongate figural profiles. Similar trends are found in costume. Most dress motifs at Bonampak are related to Yaxchilan, with some elements derived

from Piedras Negras. For example, the accessory bag carried by Chaan-Muan on Stela 2, 9.17.5.8.9 (pl. 167), is an early and common motif at Piedras Negras after 9.5.0.0.0, and the one held by Chaan-Muan is almost identical in the rendering of U-shaped brackets (serpent segments?) to the bag decoration approximately 5 years earlier on Stela 15 at Piedras Negras, dated 9.17.15.0.0 or A.D. 784 (Morley 1938-39:V:Pl. 139a).

Female costumes at Bonampak are best compared to those of Piedras Negras. At the latter center, women depicted on St. 1, 3 and 14 from 9.13.15.0.0 to 9.16.15.0.0 (A.D. 705-765) wear a huipil with quatrefoil motifs placed at regular intervals over the field of the garment (pl. 109). This kind of pattern occurs once on a feminine huipil at Yaxhilan around 9.14.0.0.0 (pl. 154), and was probably adapted from Piedras Negras. Thus, it would be impossible to pinpoint the exact source for Bonampak women wearing similar huipilli on Stela 2, 9.17.5.8.9 or A.D. 775, but the prototype is more common at Piedras Negras (pl. 109). The reptilian mask headdresses are, however, related to headgear at Yaxchilan. In particular, the woman on the right side of Chaan-Muan has a headdress which includes the fish-eating-water-lily motif (pl. 167), such as that worn during the reign of Bird Jaguar at Yaxchilan on Lintel 6, dated 9.16.1.8.6 or A.D. 751 (pl. 170).

2. War Dress

Lintels 1,2 and 3 from Structure 1 commemorate the conquests of Chaan-Muan, his father, and his contemporary and presumed relative, Shield Jaguar II from Yaxchilan (Mathews 1980:64-70). These reliefs are compositionally related to warrior reliefs at Yaxchilan, and their costume motifs also occur at this center during the reigns of Shield Jaguar and Bird Jaguar from approximately 9.14.12.0.0 to 9.16.4.0.0 (A.D. 720-751). The three Lintels in Structure 1 were carved during the reign of Chaan-Muan around 9.17.15.0.0 (A.D. 785). In discussing military dress at Yaxchilan, the various reliefs were considered as a group, because the motifs undergo little change between the lifetimes of Shield Jaguar and Bird Jaguar. A similar approach follows here in order to compare elements from Bonampak with their antecedents at Yaxchilan. Stela 3 at Bonampak will also be included, although it should be mentioned that the costume and text probably refer to bloodletting in general rather than strictly to warfare (Mathews 1980:64).

a. Headgear

A feathered hat of flat cropped feathers and long plumes occurs several times at Yaxchilan, as shown on Lintels 2,16,45 and the Hieroglyphic Stairway (pls. 127,148-149 and 151). Similar headdresses are worn

later at Bonampak on Lintels 1 and 2, as well as on the captive figure kneeling before Chaan-Muan on Stela 3 (pls. 171-172 and 174). Other representations of Yaxchilan rulers in military attire depict mask headgear, such as that shown on Lintel 3 from Bonampak (pl. 173).

The platelet dragon mask with trapeze-and-ray sign on Stela 3 at Bonampak (pl. 174) first occurs in the western lowlands at Piedras Negras on monuments erected from 9.9.15.0.0 to 9.14.10.0.0, A.D. 627-720 (Maler 1901: Pls. 16, 23 and 25). While these sculptures are formal presentations of Piedras Negras rulers, similar platelet, or as they are otherwise called, Mexican "Tlaloc" masks are worn at Yaxchilan for capture scenes, rites of blood sacrifice, and events associated with warfare on Lintels 8, 17, 24 and 41 (pls. 142-143, 145 and 158).

b. Garments

The military clothing of Bonampak is virtually identical to motifs at Yaxchilan, including a scant hip-cloth, identifiable only by knotted sashes hanging in front and back of the legs; a heavy protective belt and additional hip garment of beads; a sleeveless slip-on tunic or short cape covering the upper torso; and lastly, a long muffler of woven cloth, or possibly beads, which further protected the chest (pls. 171-173). All of these garments are typical of Yaxchilan after 9.13.0.0.0 or

A.D. 691 (pls. 138, 141-143 and 151). The use of such padded garments, which protected the abdomen, solar plexis and chest, while leaving the legs free to move, indicates that this type of costume was actually worn in battle. On Stela 3 at Bonampak, the jeweled collar-piece, exposed chest and decorated textile hip-cloth, combined with the platelet headgear, suggest a kind of commemorative dress concerned with warfare and related bloodletting activities in general (pl. 174).

c. Accessories

Ornaments on Lintels 1, 2 and 3 from Bonampak provide more comparisons with motifs at Yaxchilan. On all three lintels, the principal figure wears a skull on a long necklace (pls. 171-173), and similar skull pectorals are shown at Yaxchilan on Lintels 9 and 12 (pls. 135 and 144). Lintel 1 at Bonampak also has a back mask (pl. 171) such as those found at Yaxchilan on Lintels 8 and 45 (pls. 143 and 148). The long spears with bound shafts and flexible shields carried by Bonampak figures (pls. 171-172) are common accessories at Yaxchilan, occurring on Lintels 4, 8, 12, 16, 41 and 45 (pls. 142-144, 148, 151 and 153).

3. Mixed Dress

The murals in Structure 1, painted during the reign of Chaan-Muan around 9.18.0.0.0 (A.D. 790), depict activities related to warfare (Room 2), and ceremonies

that involve members of the royal family and court retinue (Rooms 1 and 3). As George Kubier (1962:177) has observed, each of the three paintings combines several events, and outdoor and indoor scenes are suggested by contrasting background colors of blue and red, and by pictorial registers containing terraced stairways and platforms. Some of the costumes in the murals are found on monuments, as for example, in the battle scene in Room 2, where figures wear the same military attire shown on reliefs at Yaxchilan and Bonampak. Similarly, the blood-letting ritual depicting enthroned women in long huipilli (Room 3) compares favorably to Lintels 15, 17, 24 and 25 at Yaxchilan (pls. 145, 154, 156 and 158).

In other respects, however, the murals are better compared to themes and costumes on Tepeu 2 ceramics. The narrative scenes on Tepeu 2 vases are thought to reflect a tradition of wall painting, of which Bonampak is one of the few surviving examples (Kubler 1962:175). Equally important, for comparative purposes, is the number of figures shown on the murals, and the variety of simple and elaborate costumes suggesting different classes, occupations or rank. Such group settings and mixed forms of dress have precedents in the west on monuments at Piedras Negras after 9.12.0.0.0 or A.D. 671 (Maler 1901:Pl. 30; Morley 1938-39:V:Pls. 126a, 133a and b, 135b and 146), as well as at Palenque on

palace reliefs (pls. 159, 169 and 170). Nonetheless, even these sculptures are constrained by a kind of minimal statement which summarizes narrative events with a few figures, concise gestures and glyphic texts. Only the medium of painting, on vases or murals, permitted the freedom to expand narrative action, and to provide a sense of immediacy through fluid brushstrokes, colors and diverse figural positions.

Of particular interest in the Bonampak murals, with respect to Tepeu ceramics, in the dressing scene in Room 1. Here, a distinct contrast can be drawn between attendants in simple attire and three lords, who are being dressed by these attendants. Among the servants, cloth strips form tubular and turban headdresses, and hip-cloths are of jaguar skins or dyed textiles with woven borders. Similarly dressed figures are common on vases (Coe 1973:Cat. Nos. 14, 16, 22, 27, 30 and 31), but they are not typical of monuments or reliefs until the end of the Classic Period around 9.17.15.0.0 and later, as for example at Bonampak (pls. 167 and 175), La Mar and El Chiconzapote in the western lowlands (Maler 1903:Pl. 36, 1 and 2 and 38, 1 and 2).

The three lords in the dressing scene, among whom the central frontal figure is probably Chaun-Muan, wear jaguar pelts tied over their hip-cloths with decorated

textile sashes: jade ornaments are used for ankle cuffs, calf bands, wide bracelets, earrings, headband diadems, and heavy collarpiece necklaces; their mask headdresses were presumably made of wood and stucco with green quetzal feathers; lastly, each lord has a wooden backframe with long green plumes. The same lords appear again in these costumes at the bottom of the mural against a blue background, suggesting an outdoor public ceremony. The costumes are most similar, particularly in the use of featherwork backframes to Late Classic lintels portraying Yaxchilan rulers (pls. 125, 127-218, 135 and 166). In the discussion of Yaxchilan, I also proposed that such backframes must have been intended for public occasions, as they are too cumbersome and wide for palace interiors. However, the preparation for the ceremony in the Bonampak mural, or in other words, the dressing of the three lords, is a subject that, to my knowledge, has no parallel in Classic sculpture. Dressing scenes are typical of vases, where enthroned rulers are presented articles of clothing or shown in various stages of dress. Thus, the dressing scene in the Bonampak mural combines costume elements found on Yaxchilan reliefs with a theme characteristic of Tepeu 2 vase painting (pls. 177-188).

Another group of male figures in Bonampak murals wear long white cloaks and headdresses of turbans or animal masks. In Room 1, these men stand before a dias

with a throne, where an infant child is presented with a group of women. The same men occur again in Room 3, observing the dancing ceremony on the terraced stairway of a palace. Long cloaks are rare on monuments, although they appear at Bonampak on Stone 1 (pl. 175), and occasionally on stelae from other centers (Maler 1903:Pl. 36, 2). They are common on Tepeu 2 vase paintings. Similarly, the dancers in Room 3 have wide panels attached to the backs of their belts, which are articles unknown to monuments, but they do appear on contemporary painted ceramics (pl. 189). Lastly, the figures wearing animal costumes in the outdoor procession of Room 1 are deity impersonators who almost never appear in sculpture, but are typical of ceramics (Quirarte 1976:116-148). In summary, my general impression of the Bonampak murals is that their narrative themes and costumes are best compared to vase paintings of the same period (Tepeu 2).¹³

E. Late Centers (La Mar, El Chicozapote, Jonuta, Chinkultic, Comalcalco and Balancan)

The figural programs of Bonampak and Yaxchilan during the reigns of Chaan-Muan and Shield Jaguar II, respectively, already exhibit traits which Proskouriakoff (1950:

¹³ A dissertation on the murals of Bonampak (M. Miller 1981) contains a thorough analysis of the iconography and articles of costume. Mary Miller does not, however, attempt to compare dress motifs from the murals to Tepeu 2 ceramics.

146-148) considered as dynamic, and subsequently, as decadent, including asymmetrical poses, cursive treatment, exaggeration of inessential details, and simplification of figural outlines. Although these characteristics describe a new approach to sculptural carving, they also reflect changes in the use of dress motifs. The changes are less perceptible at Bonampak and Yaxchilan than at other western centers with sculptures dating to the same time and slightly later (9.17.0.0.0-9.19.0.0.0+, A.D. 770-910). I would emphasize that such changes rarely concern the appearance of new motifs, although some foreign elements are found. For example, Stela 3 at Bonampak includes a Mexican spear thrower held as a scepter (pl. 174); similarly, Stela 4 from Balancan has a new kind of ceremonial bar (pl. 176), shown elsewhere only on the Maya-Mexican murals of Cacaxtla in the state of Tlaxcala, Mexico (pl. 254).

More important after 9.17.0.0.0 is the decline in the appearance of elaborate costumes on monuments and reliefs. The latest stelae of Bonampak (Stela 3), El Cayo (Stela 1), and Piedras Negras (Stela 13) are among the last western monuments to portray rulers in the kind of formal regalia characteristic of public sculpture from the very beginning of the Classic Period. In the terminal phase of Classic dress (9.17.0.0.0-9.19.0.0.0), elaborate costumes are replaced by figures in simple attire, as

for example, at Jonuta, La Mar, El Chicozapote and the stucco tomb figures of Comalcalco (Blom and La Farge 1926-27:Fig. 100; Maler 1903:Pls. 36, 1 and 2 and 38, 1 and 2; Green et al. 1972:Pl. 1). The simple dress of these figures, including cloth turbans, strands of beads and textile hip-cloths, is like that of secondary figures or attendants on earlier palace reliefs at Piedras Negras and Palenque, as well as in the murals of Bonampak. Indeed, on the terminal reliefs of Jonuta, La Mar, El Chicozapote and Comalcalco, the casual attire makes it difficult to discern whether rulers are represented or not.

The trend toward the depiction of casual dress on western monuments begins in the Middle Classic (pl. 101), and continues into the Late Classic at such centers as Palenque, Piedras Negras and Bonampak. By the end of the Classic Period, the portrayal of elaborate costumes seems to have been virtually abandoned in favor of simpler dress. I have previously suggested that western sculptors were initially influenced by the minor arts, and specifically by narrative vase paintings where casual dress was typical from Early Classic times onward. In the Late Classic Period, the wall reliefs and lintels of Palenque, Piedras Negras and some at Yaxchilan parallel the concerns of Tepeu vase painters in the depiction of simple costumes and such narrative themes as warfare.

bloodletting and palace settings with enthroned rulers and attendants. Sculptured Stone 1 from Bonampak, for example, closely resembles palace scenes on Tepeu 2 ceramics, as does the Jonuta relief, where an attendant carries a vessel (M. Coe 1973: Cat. Nos. 13, 27-30; 1975: Cat. Nos. 12-14; 1982: Cat. No. 1). Whatever the direction or source of influence, the west ceased to maintain a distinction between formal and simple dress in the major and minor arts by the end of the Classic era.

II. The Southeast Frontier

Copan and Quirigua erected a great many sculptures during the Late Classic Period. Most are public stelae, and stylistically, they continue Middle Classic traits. Both cities seem to have been influenced by Peten monuments, specifically those of Tikal, in the early katuns of Baktun 9. Thus, the Middle Classic stelae of Copan and Quirigua retain such early features as the frontal stance of the human figure, helmet headgear and the high position of the ceremonial bar. In the Late Classic, the most significant changes at these centers are the representation of Usumacinta motifs.

A. Copan

The Late Classic stelae of this center are characterized by frontal figures in high relief. On some

monuments (Stelae M,N,A,D), the figure has a three-dimensional appearance, although in profile, it is still tied to the stela shaft. Proskouriakoff (1950:116-117) traces the beginning of round relief at Copan to St. I 9.12.5.0.0. She suggests (Proskouriakoff, 1950:129-130) that this tendency may have been inspired by western sculptures at Tonina, but stressed that the nature of such influence must have been indirect. The discovery of a similar monument, using deep relief and full-front representation, at Salinas de los Nueve Cerros indicates other as yet undiscovered sites in the southern highlands that fill a gap between Tonina and Copan (Rands 1968:521).

Robert Rands (1968:521) draws further analogies among western centers and the southeast, such as the presence of full-figured glyphs, which occur at Copan, Quirigua, Yaxchilan and Palenque. With regard to costume, he (Rands ibid) cites the representation of tiered headdresses depicting several masks, as found on stelae at Copan, Quirigua, Tonina and Salinas de los Nueve Cerros, as well as on clay incensarios from Palenque. I can add that such headdresses also appear on western monuments, including Lintel 2 from La Pasadita and Stela 2 at Bonampak.

Proskouriakoff (1950:116-117) further called attention to western articles of dress at Copan. Stela 6 on 9.12.10.0.0 portrays a ruler wearing a turban with a

Mexican "Tlaloc" maskette. The configuration of the turban particularly recalls Piedras Negras, while the "Tlaloc" mask occurs at both Piedras Negras and Yaxchilan (Maler 1901:Pls. 16 and 18, no. 1; I. Graham 1977:III:27). Proskouriakoff (ibid) also observed the "interlocking headdress motif", or in other words, the Mexican trapeze-and-ray sign on Stela 6, is a ". . . common and early motif at Piedras Negras." Finally, the woven, decorated textile apron on Stela 6 closely resembles those of Piedras Negras (Maler 1901:pls. 14; 15, no. 2; 16; 26). Most Copanec stelae, as well as those shown in the Peten and northern lowlands during the Late Classic, depict the apron as made of maskettes, scrolls and other non-textile elements.

Subsequent monuments at Copan also depict turbans, instead of mask headdresses, such as shown on Stelae N, B and Altar Q (c. 9.15.0.0.0-9.16.0.0.0). In addition, the turban on Stela N includes a "fish-nibbling-water-lily motif" that is so typical of the Usumacinta. It occurs on Early Classic ceramics from the Peten, and on stelae at Caracol and Calakmul during the Middle Classic (pls. 22, 83 and 99), but the closest temporal parallel with Copan is found at Palenque in the Cross Group around 9.14.0.0.0 (Maudslay 1889-1902:IV:pl. 71).

After 9.16.10.0.0, sculptural activity at Copan was largely confined to architectural reliefs and zoomorphic

monuments representing supernatural configurations. Proskouriakoff mentions (1950:131,143) that the seemingly new focus on architectural ornament further continues western influence, since the mask facades of Temples 11 and 22 at Copan resembles those Chenes and Puuc temples in Yucatan. Thus, although the links among western and southeastern cities cannot be traced, Copan seems to have continually absorbed western traits, and these elements provided a final stimulus in the Copanec school. The latest dates at Copan fall around 9.18.0.0.0.

B. Quirigua

Quirigua clearly participated in a southeastern tradition, which was based upon the retention of early elements of dress and frontal representations of the human figures. The Late Classic stelae of this city are more ornate than early stelae in the Peten, as are those of Copan, but they recall the sculptures of Stormy Sky's reign at Tikal. Unlike Copan, Quirigua never developed a tradition of figural representation in the round; three-dimensional relief is confined to the area of the head, while the rest of the figure is conceived as part of the stela shaft. Yet, there are elements of western dress at this city that do not appear at Copan. The God K scepter, for example, was adopted at Quirigua around 9.15.0.0.0, and it was typical of Usumacinta centers

after 9.13.0.0.0 (Yaxchilan, Palenque, Piedras Negras). George Kubler (1969:16-17) further notes an attempt on the part of Quirigua sculptors to distinguish differences in the age of Quirigua rulers through the use of false beards and changes in physiognomy. Such distinctions reflect the interests of Usumacinta sculptors in the depiction of coiffures, genetic defects, and perhaps, true portraiture (Robertson et al. 1976; Griffin 1976). There are, in addition, figures of dancing deity impersonators on Stelae A and C at Quirigua that resemble similar presentations at Palenque (Temple 14 and the Dumbarton Oaks panels).

Like Copan, Quirigua stopped erecting stelae in favor of sculptural "altars." Proskouriakoff (1950:144) also noticed that the ornamental scrollwork on several Quirigua stelae was reminiscent of that found on Veracruz yokes and the ball court reliefs of El Tajin. On Stela R, the prominent ear plugs and shape of the face, with low and protruding cheeks, suggest some non-Classic influence (Proskouriakoff 1950:131). Quirigua may, thus, reflect intrusive Mexican traits, which probably came from the west.

III. The Central Lowlands

The best sequence of Late Classic monuments in the Peten is found at Naranjo, which Proskouriakoff

(1950:125) described as a conservative series illustrating restrained and formal traits. This analysis also applies to the central lowlands in general. The various centers, of which there are many, represent motifs and costumes typical of the area from early times onward. New features at these cities can usually be traced to influence from western centers along the Usumacinta. The importance of western motifs in the central lowlands was observed, but not fully analyzed by Proskouriakoff (1950:123-124). In the following discussion, centers with many sculptures are treated individually, while those with fewer monuments are grouped together.

A. Tikal

1. Masculine dress

With the accession of Ruler A around 9.13.0.0.0 (A.D. 691), the dynastic sequence for Tikal is well documented on a number of monuments (Jones 1977). Stela 30. (pl. 190), the earliest sculpture associated with this Ruler (9.13.0.0.0) depicts the type of formal costume worn during the Middle Classic by early rulers (Kan Boar and Claw Skull), and sometime later by the unnamed ruler of Stela 17 on 9.6.0.0.0, A.D. 553 (pls. 49-56 and 69). Certain traits such as the static composition, elaboration of ornament and finely modulated relief on Stela 30

are sculptural characteristics of Peten monuments at this time (Proskouriakoff 1950:124), but the costume reflects a gradual progression of internal development at Tikal.

Stela 16 again portrays Ruler A on 9.14.0.0.0, A.D. 710 in the same kind of formal dress (pl. 191). Western motifs in this costume include the accessory pouch, typically carried in the Middle Classic at Piedras Negras, and later seen at other western centers (Palenque and Bonampak); the depiction of woven textile motifs, an early characteristic of western dress; the flaring featherwork back device such as those worn at Yaxchilan by the contemporary ruler Shield Jaguar on Lintels 32 and 53 around 9.13.17.15.13; and with less secure comparisons, the concept of a turban with feathered or flowered rosettes can also be found to have antecedents at Yaxchilan on Lintel 24, 9.13.17.15.12 (pls. 124-125 and 145).

Since the date 9.14.0.0.0 appears to signify the recognition of western motifs at Tikal, it is worthwhile mentioning that Proskouriakoff (1950:124) observed some peculiar features on Altar 5, 9.13.19.16.9, which was placed in front of Stela 16 (pl. 192). She comments (Proskouriakoff ibid) that Altar 5 shows articles of dress, simple details, and a freedom in composition which do not conform to the formal conventions of contemporary stelae. Proskouriakoff (ibid) further noted that the

crossed bones in the headdress of the right figure occur elsewhere in the wall paintings of Bonampak. I can add that the coolie hat worn by this figure is typical of Jaina figurines and Tepeu vase paintings. In summary, by 9.14.0.0.0, Tikal sculpture had begun to exhibit more casual motifs, probably as the result of western influence, although they were confined to secondary figures.

Stela 5, portraying the son of Ruler A, Ruler B, on 9.15.15.0.0 (A.D. 745) represents an unusual blend of archaistic motifs and new features from the west (pl. 193). Proskouriakoff (1950:125) suggested that the old-fashioned bracelets, anklets and flap of the headdress feathers were deliberate revivals of the past (pls. 43 and 44), as Stela 5 stands in a group of early monuments. Nonetheless, the accessory pouch and large, flaring featherwork back frame relate to Usumacinta motifs introduced during the reign of Ruler A on Stela 16 (9.14.0.0.0). Essentially similar costumes appear on Stela 20 (9.16.0.0.0, A.D. 750), again depicting Ruler B, and on Stela 22 with his successor, Ruler C, on 9.17.0.0.0, A.D. 770 (pls. 194 and 195). More western motifs can be seen in the use of flat feathered headdresses, such as that found at Yaxchilan (pl. 136), as well as the use of a shield attached to the wrist, a motif which first occurs at Yaxchilan at the beginning of the Late Classic Period (pl. 124).

The wooden lintels of Tikal from Temples I and IV (9.15.0.0.0 to 9.17.0.0.0) also combine archaic traits with motifs borrowed from the west (pls. 196-199). On Lintel 3, Temple I, (pl. 197), the ornamental chain suspended from the belt recalls late Baktun 8 and early Baktun 9 (Proskouriakoff 1950:125). On the other lintels (pls. 196 and 198-199), Mexican elements in the form of platelet helmets with chin bars, short spears and spear throwers, features stemming from Teotihuacan influence in early times, appear on Lintel 2, Temple I, and Lintel 3, Temple IV (Kubler 1973). It is impossible to determine whether these features were truly revived from earlier monuments at Tikal, or if they came from the Usumacinta where Mexican motifs were preserved during the Middle and Late Classic at Piedras Negras, Yaxchilan and Bonampak. Other articles from the west include the accessory pouch and wrist shield, which by 9.15.0.0.0 should be considered as part of Tikal dress; lastly, the long frontal mantle on Lintel 3, Temple IV (pl. 199) has precedents on warrior stelae at Piedras Negras after 9.14.0.0.0 (Maler 1901:Pls. 16 and 18, 1).

Three of the Tikal lintels show the ruler protected by a large supernatural animal or figure (pls. 196, 197 and 198). On rather slim evidence, the protector theme may have also been adapted from the west, and specifically from Piedras Negras. Stela 5 at this center

(9.14.5.0.0 or A.D. 715) portrays a seated ruler in the jaws of an enormous reptilian head (Maler 1901:pl. 15,2); and here, the square throne with a frontal jaguar head is close to that found on Stela 20 at Tikal on 9.16.0.0.0 (pl. 194). The jaguar protector theme on the fragmentary Stela 10 at Piedras Negras, dated 9.15.10.0.0, parallels that of Lintel 3 in Temple I at Tikal (pl. 197). Although the dedicatory date of Lintel 3 was possibly 9.14.0.0.0, the actual date of the carving was probably no earlier than 9.15.0.0.0; in fact, the graph for the style date of Lintel 3 places it at 9.16.0.0.0 ± 2 (W. Coe et al. 1961:64 and 71).

Lintel 2, Temple III, style dated 9.19.0.0.0 $\pm 2 \frac{1}{2}$ (W. Coe et al. 1961:76), portrays a deity impersonator in a jaguar suit (pl. 200). While this theme has no parallels in sculpture, it is directly related to Tepeu 2 vase paintings depicting similar costumes (Adams 1971: Fig. 92; M. Coe 1978: Cat. No. 20). Moreover, the casual dress of the attendant figures on Lintel 2 recalls the kind of simple costumes worn on Altar 5 at Tikal, as well as by secondary figures on Tepeu ceramics in general. Other correspondences among vase paintings and monuments at Tikal are found on Stelae 5, 20 and 22 (pls. 193-195), which portray profile views of Ruler B wearing the type of rack-maskette-feather backframe shown on Tepeu 2 ceramics from the Holmul-Naranjo area (Merwin and

Vaillant 1932:Pl. 30; M. Coe 1978:Cat. Nos. 14 and 15).

2. Feminine Dress

Lady Tun-Macaw, who was possibly the wife of Ruler A (Coggins 1975:II:549), appears on Lintel 2, Temple II (pl. 201), with a style-date of $9.15.0.0.0 \pm 3$ (Satherwaite 1958:51). In the headdress, the turban with rosettes is like those worn on Stelae 16 and 22 of approximately the same time period (pls. 191 and 195), while the bird motif may signify her name. The upper part of the headgear preserves the variant of the tripartite badge, replacing the central element with a jeweled crook, which first occurs as a female head dress element in the central lowlands at El Zapote in the Early Classic (pl. 46). However, the two-part quexquemilt and long skirt with beaded overlays, traditionally worn by women in the Peten (El Zapote, Tikal, Naranjo, Altar de Sacrificios) has been replaced by a decorated textile huipil (pl. 201). Although specific antecedents for this huipil are not to be found, the complexity of the pattern and use of diamond squares particularly relates to woven huipilli at Yaxchilan beginning around $9.13.17.15.12$ (pls. 124, 145 and 155-157). A similar densely patterned huipil is worn by the Tikal woman on Lintel 1 from Structure 10 (pl. 202), with a style date of $9.16.10.0.0 \pm 3$ (Satherwaite 1958:51).

B. Naranjo1. Masculine dress

The Late Classic monuments of Naranjo illustrate, like those of Tikal, two distinct trends in central low-land sculpture: the preservation of traditional motifs, combined with archaic revivals; and the introduction of western elements from the Usumacinta. It was in the Naranjo series that Proskouriakoff (1950:125-140) recognized most of her western traits, and secondarily, possible influences from Yucatan. In addition to her research, I had access to unpublished notes on the dynastic sequence from Peter Mathews, supplemented by more recent drawings (I. Graham and Von Euw 1975:II:Pts. 1 and 2).

The conservative sculptures of Naranjo include Stelae 1,6,9,12,14,20, and 23 from 9.13.10.0.0 to 10.0.0.0.0 (A. D. 701-829). These monuments preserve articles typical of the Middle Classic at Naranjo and other central low-land centers, such as the reptilian mask and feather head-dress; beaded collar shoulderpiece; heavy belt with maskettes; apron panel with frets; and long hip-cloth, which unlike those used in the west, falls well over the thighs (pls. 203-209). Archaic traits on these monuments are largely stylistic (Proskouriakoff 1950:140), save for the use of a hip-cloth with an old-fashioned beaded fringe on Stela 6 (pl. 204). The very latest sculptures, Stelae 9 and 12, illustrate such terminal features as

exaggerated details, diminished size of the figure and excessive scrollwork, in keeping with similar late Baktun 9 and early Baktun 10 monuments in the Peten at Jimbal, Ixlu and Xutilha.

Few stelae at Naranjo are not without some degree of western influence, including those already mentioned. Stela 1 (9.13.10.0.0 or A.D. 701) depicts a shield attached to the wrist (pl. 203), which is typical of Yaxchilan in the Late Classic (pls. 124 and 126). Similar wrist shields are carried on later monuments at Tikal and Naranjo (Stelae 11, 19 and 21). The lattice work spear and feathered shoulder cape on Stela 8, dated 9.18.10.0.0 or A.D. 799 (pl. 213) specifically recalls monuments from Bonampak (pls. 168-169).¹⁴ Proskouriakoff (1950:140) associated the broad hips shown on Stelae 5 and 19 (pls. 212 and 214) with monuments from Yucatan.

Other articles cannot be tied to one center, although they are typically found at Piedras Negras. The pouch accessory on Stela 27 (pl. 72) first occurs in the Middle Classic at Piedras Negras, but was subsequently adopted by Yaxchilan, Palenque and Bonampak. Some monuments (pls. 211 and 215) have hip-cloths or sandal guards decorated

¹⁴ Possible dates for Stela 16 at Naranjo from 9.11.14.4.7 to 9.14.15.0.0 make it possible for the lattice work spear to have been a Peten motif which migrated to the west. However, the featherwork shoulder cape on Stela 8 is firmly related to Bonampak, as it does not appear earlier in the Peten.

with the quatrefoil motif characteristic of Piedras Negras textiles (pl. 109), but again, the same textile element was later used at Bonampak, Palenque and Yaxchilan. Closer relationships with Piedras Negras are found in the depiction of warrior costumes at Naranjo on Stelae 2, 11 and 21. The latter two sculptures, the earliest being Stela 21 on 9.13.15.0.0 or A.D. 706 (pls. 215 and 216), include the frontal mantle worn at Piedras Negras (Maler 1901:Pls. 16 and 18,1), and later at Tikal on Lintel 3 from Temple IV (pl. 199). Stela 2 at Naranjo, dated 9.14.1.3.19 (pl. 217) has several military motifs from Piedras Negras, such as the woven or beaded round hat, hip-cloth of heavily woven striated fabric, square shield, protective shoulder pads, and the use of large black tipped feathers in the headdress (Maler 1901:Pls. 16,17,27,28 and 31).

2. Feminine dress

A Lady 6 from Tikal or its possible colony, Dos Pilas, is portrayed at Naranjo on Stelae 3, 24, 29, 31 and 37 from approximately 9.12.0.0.0 to 9.14.10.0.0 (A.D. 671-720). Not surprisingly, her costumes on these sculptures combine traditional and foreign elements, as do most stelae depicting male figures at this city. The earliest monument, Stela 37 (9.12.0.0.0 ?) probably revived an old composition, because the entwined serpent resembles a

similar composition on St.1 from Tulum around 9.6.0.0 or A.D. 553 (pls. 87 and 219). Stela (pl. 220) again seems to have revived the dress, as the shoulder cape occurs at Tikal on the side of Stela 23 around 9.4.0.0.0 or A.D. 513 (pl. 64).

It is perhaps coincidental, but the early representations of Lady 6 at Naranjo are not based upon traditional stela dress for Peten women, which combined a skirt and slip-on quexquemiltl with matching overlays of beadwork. This type of costume first occurs in the Early Classic at El Zapote (pl. 46), and later in the Middle Classic, at Tikal on Stela 25 (pl. 66), and Altar de Sacrificios (J. Graham 1972:Fig. 1). Instead, Stela 3 at Naranjo was patterned after a secondary figure in simpler dress on the side of Stela 23 at Tikal, while Stela 27 resembles the flaccid serpent composition at Tulum. The flaccid serpent begins as a motif in the minor arts of the Early Classic (pls. 12 and 20).

I am more certain of prototypes or influences from the minor arts in looking at Stela 24 from Naranjo on 9.13.10.0.0, A.D. 701 (pl.221). An accessory bowl, rare on monuments but shown on ceramics (M. Coe 1973: Cat. #30 and 48) obscures a bare chest, unique in sculpture but common on vase paintings, as well as figurines (M. Coe 1973: Cat. #25 and 43; Robicsek and Hales 1981: Fig. 16). Stela 24 further includes western elements

such as the trapeze-and-ray sign in the headdress, and quatrefoil motifs on the sandals. Unhappily, the experiments of Stelae 3, 24 and 37 were followed after 9.14.0.0.0 (A.D. 710) with two monuments, Stelae 29 and 31, in the traditional Peten costume for women (pls. 222 and 223).

C. Other Peten Centers with Traditional Costumes (Yaxha, Itsimte, Polol, La Hondradez, Xultun and Naachtun)

The few preserved stelae from other centers in the north central and south central Peten suggest a similar combination of archaic and western features. In the north, Stelae 5, 6 and 7 at La Hondradez (9.17.0.0.0-9.18.10.0.0 or A.D. 770-799) retain the use of such traditional motifs as mask and featherwork headgear, beaded collarpieces, belts with maskettes and crossed bands, and long hip-cloths with apron panels (Morley 1938-39:V:Pl. 83, a, c and 3). Only Stela 5 includes the wrist shield, which came to the Peten from the west, while the wide frets on the apron, extending beyond the legs, represent a late feature. Similar monuments are found at Naachtun, Stelae 2, 4 and 18 (Morley 1938-39:V:Pls. 150, 153, b, and 154), including a female (Stela 18) in the beaded quexquemitl and skirt typical of Peten costume.

The most interesting center in the northern Peten is

Xultun, even though the sculptures are fragmentary or eroded and often without precise dates. Stela 2 (9.13.10.0.0 or A.D. 701) resembles the warrior compositions of Naranjo after 9.13.15.0.0 (Stelae 11, 16 and 21) is the use of a frontal mantle, lattice work staff and black tipped feather in the headdress (pl. 224). Stela 9 (undated) also relates to Naranjo monuments (Stelae 7, 13 and 19) in the depiction of a skull pectoral and hip-cloth of woven motifs, but revives the small jaguar as a hand accessory, like those shown on earlier Xultun stelae (pl. 225). Stela 5, style dated as 9.16.0.0.0-9.19.0.0.0 (Proskouriakoff 1950:139) revives several archaic traits from the Early Classic such as the small jaguar hand accessory, another anthropomorphic miniature in the crook of the elbow, and wristlets with crossed bands (pl. 78).

Women are shown at Xultun on Stelae 23 and 24 in the familiar beaded quexquemiltl and skirt (pls. 227 and 228). The archaic jaguar hand accessory occurs again; moreover, these monuments revive or copy the flaccid serpent shown at Naranjo on Stela 37 (9.12.0.0.0 ?), and earlier (9.6.0.0.0) at Tulum. Nonetheless, the influence of the west is visible in the textile decoration of the underskirt, with tau elements on Stela 23 and quatrefoils on Stela 24. A style date for these monuments, on the basis of the sandal motifs and treatment of the headdress feathers, would fall around 9.16.0.0.0-9.19.0.0.0.

In the southern Peten, Stela 13 from Yaxha, 9.18.3.0.0 or A.D. 792 (Morley 1938-39:V:Pl. 49,b) depicts such archaic features from the Early Classic as wrist plaques and anklets with tied knots, but the rendering of the apron panel and headdress motif of beaded hooks recalls Stela 13 at Naranjo on 9.17.15.13.10 (pl. 211). Stela 31, undated but in the dancing pose common after 9.16.0.0.0, depicts tiered masks in the headdress (Greene et al. 1972: Pl.164), like those found in the Usumacinta on Lintel 2 at La Pasadita and Stela 2 at Bonampak (pls. 137 and 167). Similar tiered masks occur at Polol in the southern Peten on Stela 2, dated 9.19.0.0.0 (A.D. 810), combined with the lattice staff, another western motif which first appears on the Peten at Naranjo on Stela 8 (Greene *ibid*: Pl. 151). Near Polol, Stela 1 at Itsimte, style dated 9.18.0.0.0 ± 2 (Proskouriakoff 1950:189) depicts a warrior figure with a wrist shield and lattice spear, like those of Naranjo, but other details of the costume are not visible in the photograph (Maler 1908:Pl.12,1).

D. Epiclassic Motifs in the Peten (Ixlu, Jimbal, Xutilha, Ixkun, Ixtutz, Itsimte, Ucanal, Naranjo, Xunantunich, Polol, Caracol, Tikal)

After 9.18.0.0.0, Peten monuments, which are primarily known from the southern area below Tikal, begin to exhibit aberrant traits that signal a breakdown in Classic

patterns of dress. Curiously, although most centers were to be partly or wholly abandoned in early Baktun 10, and may have been in a decline at the end of Baktun 9, a great many sculptures were carved in the period from 9.18.0.0.0 to 10.2.0.0.0 (A.D. 789-868). As a group, they define late forms of traditional motifs, and the occasional appearance of non-Classic elements. Similar traits occur in the Pasion district, in the southwest corner of Peten, but I will consider the Pasion separately, because terminal features are present much earlier in this region.

Epiclassic features in the southern Peten are listed below, using selected monuments as examples:

1. Disregard for the Functional Consideration of Costume Elements

This trait was discussed by Proskouriakoff (1950: 142), who used Stela 5 at Ixkun, dated 9.18.10.0.0, as an example (Morley 1938-39:V:Pl.93,b). On this monument, the figure wears no sandals, but tassels are placed on the instep of the foot, with no apparent means of fastening. The same motif occurs at Ixlu on Stela 1, dated 10.1.10.0.0, and at Naranjo on Stela 7, dated 9.19.0.0.0 (pls. 210 and 229). Similarly, bracelet ties are rarely shown on terminal sculptures.

2. Lack of Symmetry in the Design of Elements

This trait is most noticeable in the depiction of asymmetrical frets on apron panels or secondary attached scrolls, as shown on Stela 4 at Polol, dated 9.19.0.0.0 (Greene et al. 1972:Pl. 152); Stela 2 at Ixtutz (Greene *ibid*:Pl. 167); and Stela 12 at Naranjo, dated 9.18.10.0.0 (pl. 206).

3. High Ankle Guards

This is a non-Classic motif, occurring in the Peten at Itsimte on Stela 4 (Greene *ibid*:Pl. 150), and at Naranjo on Stela 11 (pl. 216), but more commonly found in the Pasion district. High ankle guards are also shown on the Mexican-Maya murals of Cacaxtla in the state of Tlaxcala, Mexico (Kubler 1980:Figs. 10 and 11).

4. Apron Panels without Frets

A common late motif: Stela 1 at Jimbal, dated 10.2.10.0.0 (pl. 231); Stela 1 from Ixlu, dated 10.1.10.0.0 (pl. 229); Stela 9 at Xutilha (pl. 233; Itsimte, Stela 4 (Greene et al. 1972:Pl. 150).

5. Excessive Use of Scrolls and Featherwork

The tendency of exaggerate inessential details such as scrolls on hand accessories and feathers in headgear is perceptible after 9.16.0.0.0, and culminates in the use of excessive scroll work and massive feather head-dresses (Proskouriakoff 1950:142): Naranjo, Stelae 7 and

9, both dated 9.19.0.0.0 (pls. 205 and 210): Xunantunich, Stelae 8 and 9 (pls. 234-235); Jimbal, Stela 1 on 10.2.10.0.0 (pl.231); Tikal, Stela 11 on 10.2.0.0.0 (pl.226); Caracol, Stela 11 on 9.18.10.0.0?? (pl.86).

6. Sandals with Open Heels and Decorated with Serpent Heads Facing Backwards

Another late feature identified by Proskouriakoff (1950:142): Ixlu, Stela 1 on 10.1.10.0.0 (pl. 229); and Naranjo, Stela 12, dated 9.18.10.0.0 (pl. 206).

7. Revivals of Early Motifs

Archaic motifs are important in the Peten from the beginning of the Late Classic. In the terminal phase, most such revivals date to late Baktun 8, or in other words, they revive extremely early elements. At Yaxha, for example, the wrist plaques and anklets with tied knots on Stela 13, dated 9.18.3.0.0 (Morley 1938-39: V:Pl.49,b) resemble those shown on the Leyden Plaque dated 8.14.3.1.12 (Proskouriakoff 1950:142). At Polol, Stela 4, dated 9.19.0.0.0 (Greene et al. 1972:Pl.152), and Stela 9 from Xultilha (pl. 233) both have apron panels filled with crossed bands, like those shown on the Leyden Plaque and a late Baktun 8 stela from El Zapote (pls. 12 and 26).

8. The Simplification of Traditional Dress Motifs

In addition to the lack of care in the depiction of

sandal fastenings and wrist ties, other features are greatly simplified. Collarpiece necklaces, for example, are sometimes not shown as layers of large beads that cover the upper chest, but as simpler strands of beads around the neck: Ixlu, Stela 1, dated 10.1.10.0.0 (pl. 229); Jimbal, Stela 1, dated 10.2.10.0.0 (pl. 231); Xutilha, Stela 9 (pl. 233). The heavy belt with three maskettes, traditionally worn as part of formal attire, may have only one or two masks: Jimbal, Stela 1 (pl. 231); Ucanal, Stela 4 (Morley 1938-39:V:Pl.94,a); Xunantunich, Stelae 8 and 9 (pls. 234-235).

9. Changes in the Proportions of Elements

The size of the principal figure on terminal monuments is often smaller than before, with the result that head-dresses, feathered back devices, and other features of the composition such as floating ancestors, glyph panels and secondary figures, are given equal weight or seem disproportionately large: Ixlu, Stelae 1 and 2 (pls. 229-230); Ucanal, Stela 4 (Morley 1938-39:V:Pl.94,a); Xunantunich, Stelae 8 and 9 (pls. 234-235); Naranjo, Stela 9 (pl. 205); Tikal, Stela 11 on 10.2.0.0.0 (pl. 226).

Another change in the proportion of motifs occurs when the upper part of the torso is pinched, such that belts and collars seem larger and extend beyond the outlines of the body: Ixkun, Stela 1, dated 9.18.0.0.0

(Greene et al. 1972:Pl. 165); Ixtutz, Stela 3 (Greene ibid: Pl. 168); Jimbal, Stela 1, dated 10.2.10.0.0 (pl. 231); Naranjo, Stela 12, dated 9.18.10.0.0 (pl. 206); and Stela 6 at Xutilha (pl. 232); Tikal, Stela 11 on 10.2.0.0.0 (pl. 226); Caracol, Stela 11 on 9.18.10.0.0?? (pl. 86). Lastly, the depiction of hand held accessories changes, such that objects, usually round shields and God K scepters, are excessively small or large in relation to the rest of the body: Jimbal, Stela 1 (pl. 231); Ixlu, Stela 2 (pl. 230); Ixtutz, Stela 2 (Greene et al. 1972:Pl. 167); Ixkun, Stela 1 (Greene ibid:Pl. 165); Ucanal, Stela 4 (Morley 1938-39:V:Pl. 94,a); Naranjo, Stelae 9 and 12 (pls. 205 and 206).

E. The Pasion District

Epiclassic features are present as early as 9.15.0.0.0 (A.D. 730) in the Pasion, and as other writers have suggested (Thompson 1970:41-42; Sabloff 1973:125-126), this region was probably invaded by a Mexican or Mexican-Maya group. Unfortunately, it is difficult to follow the development of non-Classic traits in the Pasion, because although some stelae are dated around 9.15.0.0.0, most were erected at the end of Baktun 9 and in early Baktun 10. I will again, as in the case of the central Peten, discuss terminal motifs in categories, using selected monuments as examples:

1. Lack of Symmetry in the Design of Elements

Asymmetrical frets on apron panels first occur at Aguateca on Stela 1, dated 9.15.10.0.0 (pl. 236); similar frets are later shown in early Baktun 10 at Machaquila, Stelae 6 and 7 (pls. 245-246), and at Seibal on Stelae 1 and 14 (Greene et al. 1972:Pls. 101 and 112).

2. The Simplification of Traditional Motifs

Collarpiece necklaces tend to be simpler in appearance, and ceremonial belts may have only one mask or none at all: Aguateca, Stelae 1 (9.15.10.0.0) and 6 on 9.17.0.0.0 (pls. 236 and 239); Machaquila, Stelae 5, 7 and 8 from around 10.0.0.0.0 (pls. 244 and 246-247); Aguas Calientes, Stela 1 on 9.18.0.0.0 (Greene et al. 1972:Pl. 84); Seibal, Stelae 8, 19 and 21 around 10.1.0.0.0 (Greene *ibid*:Pls. 107, 115 and 117).

3. Changes in the Proportion of Elements

As in the central Peten, some headdresses seem very large in relation to the rest of the figure: Aguateca, Stela 7 on 9.18.0.0.0 (pl. 240); Machaquila, Stelae 2, 3, 4, 7 and 8 after 9.19.0.0.0 (pls. 241-243 and 246-247). Similarly, a pinched waist gives the impression of excessively large belts: Machaquila, Stelae 3, 7 and 8 (pls. 242 and 246-247); and Seibal, Stelae 1 and 17 around 10.2.0.0.0 (Greene et al. 1972:Pls. 101 and 113).

4. Changes in Traditional Motifs

Alterations in the appearance of Classic motifs include: a ceremonial bar that terminates on one end (usually the right side) in a segmented head, as shown at Machaquila on Stela 12, dated 9.16.0.0.0 (pl. 248), and in Baktun 10 at Seibal on Stela 9 (Greene et al. 1972:Pl. 108). The God K scepter occurs attached to a staff at Aguateca, Stela 3 on 9.15.0.0.0 (pl. 238), and at Dos Pilas on Stela 17 around 9.19.0.0.0 (Greene et al. 1972:Pl. 93).

5. Non-Classic Traits

The Pasion district represents an area where many non-Classic Maya features are found, and similar traits are present on late sculptures in Yucatan (Thompson 1970:41-42; Sabloff 1973:125-126). While it is not the purpose of this thesis to analyze foreign motifs which become typical of the Postclassic, some are examined in order to illustrate the decline of Classic Maya motifs:

a. High Ankle Guards:

Machaquila, Stelae 2, 3, 4, 5, and 7 (pls. 241-244 and 246); Seibal, Stela 10 (Greene et al. 1972:Pl. 109).

b. A Jeweled Bar Extended off the Headdress:

Machaquila, Stela 7 (246); Seibal, Stelae 8 and 9 (Greene et al. 1972:Pls. 107 and 108).

c. Arm and Leg Bands with Pointed Elements:

Aguas Calientes, Stela 1 (Greene et al. 1972:Pl. 84); Seibal, Stelae 8 and 14 (Greene ibid:Pls. 107 and 112). It is worthwhile mentioning that similar pointed motifs are found as leggings on the Mexican-Maya murals of Cacaxtla (Kubler 1980:Fig. 11).

d. Anthropomorphic Mittens and Boots

A form of deity impersonation: Seibal, St. 13, early Baktun 10 (pl. 250); Aguateca, Stela 2 on 9.15.0.0.0 (pl. 237). In Mexico, the animal boots worn on Stela 2 at Aguateca occur again on the murals of Cacaxtla (pls. 251, 252 and 254).

e. The Quexquemitl Worn by Men

In Classic times, the quexquemitl was a feminine article of dress. Two kinds were worn by the Maya: the round quexquemitl with a straight border (fig. 11); and the pointed quexquemitl found on Stela 1 at Tulum (pl. 87), as well as Jaina figurines (Corson 1976:Figs. 2a and b). The idea of a quexquemitl for men was introduced from Teotihuacan (fig. 21 and pls. 30, 32, 47, 51, 53, 57-58, 67-68, 87, 94 and 98), for beaded collarpieces (pls. 113-115, 125-127, 136, 138, 193-194, 199 and 203). Thus, in the terminal phase, the large pointed quexquemitl at Aguateca on Stela 1 appears as a distinctly non-Classic feature (pl. 236), and masculine quexquemitli also occur on the

murals of Cacaxtla and sculptures at Tula and Chichen Itza (Tozzer 1957:XII:Figs. 552 and 612-613; Kubler 1980:Figs. 10 and 11).

f. Headdress Masks with Reptilian Chin Guards and Nose Pieces

It becomes common in the Pasion district for figures to wear a mask headdress that includes a chin guard and reptilian nose piece attached to the top of the headgear, beginning with Stela 1 at Dos Pilas on 9.13.15.0.0 (Greene et al.1972:Pl. 90). Later monuments sometimes omit either the chin guard or fret nose piece, but nonetheless, this is a consistent form of deity impersonation: Machaquila, Stelae 2,3,4 and 7 (pls.241-243 and 246); Aguateca, Stela 7 (pl.240); Seibal, Stelae 1,8,11,20 and 21 (Greene et al.1972:Pls.101,107,110,116 and 117). The origin of this motif is impossible to trace, but the earliest occurrence, as far as I know, is on Calakmul, Stela II, dated 9.13.0.0.0 (pl. 92). Shortly thereafter, it is found in the central Peten at Naranjo, Stela 21 on 9.13.15.0.0 (pl. 215).

9. Non-Classic Facial Features

Changes in facial features are difficult to describe, but as other writers have noted (Thompson 1970:41-42; Sabloff 1973:125-126), most figures in the Pasion have different physiognomic traits. Perhaps the most

significant feature is the absence of forehead deformation (pls. 242 and 244-245), in contrast to the extreme lines of earlier Maya profiles (pls. 91, 101, 104, 110, 115, 129, 135, 138 and 141).

IV. The Northern Lowlands

Study of the northern lowlands is hampered by sporadic and poorly preserved monuments, relatively few secure dates, and non-Classic traits which Proskouriakoff (1950: 156-157) attributed to Mexican influence, although she cautioned that they might be local in origin. In addition, as many of the sculptures appear to be late, non-Classic motifs are often combined with such epiclassic features as cursive lines, anatomical distortions, excessive attention to detail, and simplifications of traditional elements. Nonetheless, the examination of northern monuments supports the research of Mary Butler (1937:14) and later Proskouriakoff (1950:123-124), who suggested that the Late Classic represents a period of uniformity, or in other words, there seems to have been an exchange of dress motifs and sculptural programs among regions.

A. Calakmul, El Palmar, Oxpemul, La Hondradez and La Muneca

Calakmul and neighboring centers in southern Campeche erected a great many stelae during the Late Classic.

Unfortunately, erosion has so destroyed the sculptures that only a small group are available for analysis. Proskouriakoff (1950:128) considered Calakmul to be typologically a Peten site, and the same may be said of smaller cities in the vicinity. Thus, the preserved monuments are reminiscent, in general, of Late Classic stelae in the central Peten, and specifically of those found at Tikal and Naranjo. Examples of such monuments at Calakmul include Stelae 52, 62 and 89 (Ruppert and Denison 1943:Pls. 51a, 52b and 53b), and Stela 8 from El Palmar (Proskouriakoff 1950:Fig. 58a), all of which portray men from approximately 9.15.0.0.0 to 9.16.0.0.0 (A.D. 730-750). These stelae resemble Middle Classic rulers at Calakmul (Stelae 9, 29 and I) in the depiction of figures dressed in elaborate formal costumes with God K scepters and round shields (pl. 91). For women, Stela 54 on 9.15.0.0.0 (Ruppert and Denison 1943:Pl. 51c) recalls earlier females wearing beaded huipilli (Stelae 28, 88, II; Uxul, Stela 2), as well as sculptures thought to be from the area (pls. 97 and 260).

Despite these similarities, epiclassic features and non-Classic motifs occur much earlier in the Calakmul series than in the Peten, with the exception of the Pasion district. It is, therefore, interesting to examine aberrant traits, as they may have begun in the north, or reached this region concomitant with the Pasion. At

Calakmul, Stela 8 (front) on 9.14.10.0.0 (pl. 255) has only a central maskette on the belt, some 40 years before this kind of simplified belt occurs in the Peten. Similar belts continue to be shown at Calakmul on Stelae 51, 52 and 53 around 9.15.0.0.0 (pls. 257-258). Stela 62 on 9.16.0.0.0 reverts to the traditional belt with three maskettes (pl. 259), but this monument also features a triplicate staff, like Stelae 16 and 30 at Tikal from 9.13.0.0.0 to 9.14.0.0.0 (pls. 190-191). Without further evidence to the contrary, Stela 62 seems to imitate a sculptural program characteristic of Tikal. Similarly, a carved relief from an altar, thought to be from the Calakmul area and dated 9.15.0.0.0 (pl. 261), duplicates the supernatural protector theme found on temple lintels at Tikal (pls. 196-198) and on stelae 5 and 10 at Piedras Negras. All of these monuments date to around 9.15.0.0.0, and they suggest a period of uniformity or exchange of ideas and motifs.

Stela II from the Calakmul area, dated 9.13.0.0.0 (pl. 92) introduces another form of deity impersonation, a reptilian mask consisting of a chin guard (the reptilian jaw) and reptilian nose piece attached to the top of the headdress. I have previously called this a non-Classic motif, because it does not become common until after 9.13.0.0.0, when it is found in the Pasion district, and it is also worn at this time on Stelae 52 and 53 at

Calakmul (Ruppert and Denison 1943:Pl. 51a and b).

Stela II suggests that such masks may have originated in the north, and were subsequently adopted by Naranjo (Stela 21) and centers in the Pasion.

Other non-Classic traits at Calakmul include the depiction of long curly hair on Stela 51 (pl. 257), and the spear, which occurs again on the contemporaneous Stela 53 (Ruppert and Denison 1943:Pl. 51b). This is a particular kind of spear with a serrated blade which first appears in the Peten at Naranjo on Stela 21, dated 9.13.15.0.0 (pl. 215); then at Calakmul around 9.15.0.0.0 (Stela 51); finally, in the Pasion at the same time on Stela 2 at Aguateca (pl. 237), and later at Dos Pilas and Aguateca (pls. 245 and 249) and Stela 1 at Seibal (Greene et al. 1972:PL.101). I would also call attention to several Calakmul monuments from approximately 9.14.0.0.0 to 9.15.0.0.0 when hip-cloths are decorated with circular motifs (pls. 255, 257 and 258), a peculiar design found around the same date at Tikal on Stela 16 (191), as well as on the Mexican-Maya murals of Cacaxtla (pls. 251, 252 and 254).

After 9.15.0.0.0, non-Classic features such as high ankle guards (pls. 262-263) and Toltec-Maya sandals (Ruppert and Denison 1954:Pl. 50b) are combined with epiclassic features: belts with only one mask; excessively

large apron frets, featherwork and sandal tassels; cursively rendered outlines; and anatomical distortions. The monuments in this category include Stelae 15, 16, 17, 50, 57, 65 and 84 (Ruppert and Denison 1943). Field drawings of Stelae 16 and 17 by Eric Von Euw are shown here as examples (pls. 262-263). Similar monuments were erected at neighboring centers (El Palmar, Stela 14; Oxpemul, Stelae 9, 12, 15 and 17; La Hondradez, Stelae 4, 5, 6 and 7; and La Muneca, Stela 5).

B. Tulum, Edzna, Coba, Santa Rosa, Oxkintok, Tzum and Uxmal

Most of the extant monuments from the states of Yucatan and Quintana Roo seem to be very late, although few have dates. They are characterized by epiclassic features and non-Classic traits, which Proskouriakoff (1950:156-157) analyzes as: decadent, cursive lines; figural distortions of a particular type (Quality X); a tendency to emphasize straight lines rather than curves; panel arrangements of small figures; and Toltec-Maya dress motifs. I do not have much to add to her discussion. The combination of cursive lines, simplified traditional motifs, excessively large details, and foreign elements of costume results in a sculptural style after 9.19.0.0.0 that is not Classic Maya. Occasional monuments such as Stela 3 at Tzum (pl. 264) belong to the Classic tradition, but Stela 1

(pl. 265) depicts high ankle guards and leggings of the type found at Cacaxtla (pls. 251-252) and Seibal (Greene et al. 1972:Pl. 101). The panel arrangements of Oxkintok tend to portray several figures in casual dress, with soft turbans and textile hip-cloths reminiscent of narrative scenes on Tepeu 2 vase paintings and late sculptures in the western lowlands (El Chicozapote, La Mar). It is better, in my estimation, to study such changes in Maya dress as the beginning of Postclassic costume.

V. Summary: Regional Types in the Late Classic

The various regions of the Maya area continue to depict established themes and dress motifs on monuments during the Late Classic until after 9.18.0.0.0 (A.D. 789). In the western lowlands, most sculptural programs on lintels, stelae and architectural reliefs have precedents in the Middle Classic. This is particularly true of Piedras Negras, which in turn, seems to have influenced Palenque and Yaxchilan in the use of textile patterns, a shortened hip-cloth, pouches as hand accessories, turban headgear, and lastly, the depiction of military attire as a type of public commemorative dress. Simple costumes with similarities to the minor arts are strongest in the west, especially to Tepeu 2 vase paintings, but by this time, it is impossible to say if western sculptors were influenced by small products. It is my hypothesis that

Middle Classic sculptures based upon ceramic programs (pl. 101) were experiments that later resulted in a kind of parallel development uniting the major and minor arts. Most interesting is the fact that western centers rarely borrowed motifs from other regions. The Late Classic sequence in the west is best characterized as a process of internal development.

Mary Butler's study of Classic dress (1937:14) found few differences among regions in the Late Classic, which Proskouriakoff (1950:123-124) later attributed to the appearance of Usumacinta motifs in the central and south-east lowlands. My own research emphasized the strength of western articles in these areas, and there are a great many, including not only dress motifs but also stylistic changes in the use of deep relief, architectural ornaments and full-figured glyphs. Among the more common western dress motifs are textile patterns characteristic of Piedras Negras and Yaxchilan; garments such as the huipil and netted hip-cloth from Piedras Negras; and headdresses of turbans or tiered masks, or those that have western signs such as the trapeze-and-ray element and the fish-nibbling-water-lily motif. In other respects, the central and southeast regions continue established traditions from the Middle Classic, coupled with occasional revivals of early motifs.

In the north, monuments at Calakmul and neighboring cities similarly recall the Middle Classic sequence in the area. They also resemble Late Classic sculptures at Tikal and Naranjo. Unfortunately, the erosion of northern limestone has created such gaps in the monumental series that it is difficult to fully assess possible influences from other regions. Some monuments suggest adaptations to sculptural programs from the central or western lowlands (pls. 198 and 261). Further north, late monuments from the states of Yucatan and Quintana Roo depict such non-Classic features as a tendency to emphasize straight lines rather than curves; panel arrangements of small figures; and Toltec-Maya dress motifs.

There is no clear distinction in Proskouriakoff's (1950) analysis among sculptural properties that I have described as epiclassic features and non-Classic traits. Epiclassic is a less pejorative way of referring to qualities previously labeled as decadent or degenerate (Proskouriakoff 1950:152,156-157). I felt it necessary to make a separation between epiclassic and non-Classic, because there is, as yet, no evidence that late monuments reflect foreign influence. Nonetheless, epiclassic features are invariably combined with non-Classic traits. They occur as early as 9.14.0.0.0 (A.D. 710) with such features as cursive outlines, figural distortions, simplified articles of traditional dress, and excessive

scroll and featherwork. Non-Classic elements of costume include high ankle guards, sandals of Toltec type with puffs over the instep, headgear designed as a reptilian helmet, hip-cloths with woven circular motifs, and spears with serrated blades.

Similar epiclassic features and non-Classic traits occur in the central and western lowlands around 9.18.0.0.0 (A.D. 789), while the southeast abruptly stopped erecting figural monuments at this time. Late qualities are particularly noticeable in the Pasion district of the Peten, where they begin to appear after 9.15.0.0.0 (A.D. 730). Some writers have suggested that this area was invaded by Mexicans or a Mexicanized Maya group (Thompson 1970:41-42; Sabloff 1973:125-1-6). While the origin of these intruders remains unknown, non-Classic traits in both the Pasion district and northern lowlands have parallels on the Mexican-Maya murals of Cacaxtla in the state of Tlaxcala, Mexico.

Conclusions

I believe that a regional approach to the study of costume is valuable, but after completing the research, there are obvious pitfalls in the method. Most stem from attempts to trace adaptations to dress motifs from one city or region to another. Here, analysis is hampered by the vicissitudes of time. The gaps in monumental sequences make it difficult to pinpoint the origins of particular motifs, and often, their migration to other centers and regions. Secondly, prior to my research, I did not make a selection of motifs that were to be followed throughout the Classic Period. I wanted the preserved monuments to dictate those elements that were geographically significant. As these are incomplete from region to region, as well as over time, the text suffers from an unavoidable selectivity. Nonetheless, variation is an integral part of a regional study.

Mine is, however, the first attempt to understand the development of Maya costume throughout the Classic Period. The article by Mary Butler (1935), "Dress and Decoration of the Maya Old Empire", dealt with only a small number of monuments and minor products in a restricted time period (9.13.0.0.0-9.16.0.0.0, A.D. 691-750). This paper was important to me for its geographic

approach, as well as the inclusion of small objects, but the information needed to be greatly expanded. My work also benefited from the research of Proskouriakoff (1950), Classic Maya Sculpture, for her perceptions of changes in the rendering of the human figure and some dress motifs, but ultimately, Proskouriakoff's book is an analysis of sculpture, as the title suggests. Furthermore, Proskouriakoff rarely included objects from the minor arts.

By including small products from the minor arts, this study was able to distinguish elaborate kinds of dress from simpler more casual forms. Elaborate costumes tend to appear on stelae and other public monuments in the plazas of Maya cities. I have argued that such attire depicts rulers as they would have appeared before large crowds or for important ceremonial occasions. In other words, the monuments are commemorative portrayals of rulers, wearing lavish garments and jewelry, ornate head-dresses, and hand accessories representing symbols of royal authority. Elaborate costumes change relatively little over time. After 9.2.0.0.0 (A.D. 474), the various regions borrowed motifs from one another, but for the most part, public dress was based, in each region, upon the retention or revival of early forms particular to that area. In summary, elaborate dress on Classic monuments should be viewed as the expression or manifestation of an ideology, namely the institution of Maya rulership

and all that it implied in the Classic era.

During the Early Classic Period (A.D. 250-474), the minor arts tend to exhibit the same formal properties of public sculpture (pls. 12 and 18-22), although occasional examples represent more casual dress (pl. 15). After 9.6.0.0.0 (A.D. 553), at the beginning of the Tepeu 1 ceramic phase, there is a visible shift toward simpler costumes in the minor arts, which culminates in Tepeu 2 times (after 9.12.0.0.0 or A.D. 671) with the representation of narrative scenes on painted vessels. These group settings depict a variety of activities (palace gatherings, processions, warfare, ball games and mythological stories), and they seem to depict different classes or ranks of people. Correspondingly, diverse forms of dress are represented. The tendency to render ceramic figures in simple costumes, relative to public sculpture, probably better reflects individual and social tastes in everyday dress among members of the upper class (pls. 162-165, 177-188 and 267-298).

It was my hope that a geographic study of motifs on monuments would help fix provenance for many Late Classic (Tepeu 2) ceramics in museums and private collections. Unfortunately, this was not possible. The discrepancy is too great between casual articles of dress on ceramics and more formal motifs on sculptures. In addition, the Tepeu 2 phase (9.12.0.0.0-10.0.0.0.0 or A.D. 671-829)

coincides with the period of uniformity in sculpture recognized by Mary Butler (1935, 1937) and later Proskouriakoff (1950). For similar reasons, I did not include many figurines. Their dress motifs are, in general, different from those found on monuments. Moreover, Classic figurines are unknown until after A.D. 534, and thereafter, their appearance is sporadic. The best sequence occurs on the island of Yucatan and neighboring Campeche coast, but there are few monuments in this area. The second largest series of known figurines comes from the highlands of Guatemala, where there are no stelae. It is known that some Late Classic cities with monuments also made figurines (Palenque, Piedras Negras, Seibal, Altar de Sacrificios, Lubaantun), but the archaeological publications include few examples and many are merely fragments. Thus, at this time, it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine the origin of Tepeu ceramics and figurines on the basis of comparisons to monuments in a given region.

It is, of course, possible to distinguish regions of the Maya area using dress motifs on monuments. Proskouriakoff (1950:128), for example, considered Calakmul to be "typologically," or in other words, stylistically a Peten site. I placed it in the northern lowlands, because the women of Calakmul wear the long huipil shown at Coba and Edzna, while men carry the round shield found at Edzna.

Along the Usumacinta drainage, the tendency to depict casual articles on sculptures, as well as shared motifs among centers, serves to define the western lowlands. The southeast, including Copan, Quirigua, and doubtless unexcavated centers, is characterized by the retention of Early Classic traits from the Peten. The preservation of early motifs was also important to the central Peten lowlands, both through the continued use of traditional forms and periodic revivals. These regions begin to lose their distinctions after 9.12.0.0.0 (A.D. 671) when western motifs appear in the Peten, southeast and northern lowlands. After 9.16.0.0.0 (A.D. 750), more similarities among the four areas are apparent in the use of epiclassic traits.

In retrospect, I am perhaps most troubled by attempts to compare early and epiclassic motifs to monuments from the period of uniformity. It is my impression from the literature on Classic Maya art that sculptures from approximately 9.12.0.0.0-9.16.0.0.0 (A.D. 670-750) serve as models for analysis among many writers, myself included. Motifs from other periods tend to be discussed as the prototypes or disintegrations of forms that were properly represented only during this time. If I were to make another study of dress, I think I would try to overcome this bias. Nonetheless, within the context of the chronology used here, the research was of interest to me in

demonstrating the appearance of archaic motifs; the importance of foreign influence; elements on sculptures that seem to have been borrowed from the minor arts; and lastly, the ability of a major city or region to dominate other centers. These aspects are summarized below in more detail, according to their relevance in Early, Middle and Late phases of the Classic Period.

I. The Early Classic

At the beginning of the Classic Period, the Maya had distinct forms of dress based upon a Late Preclassic heritage. Costume elements characteristic of late Baktun 8 in the Peten (helmet headgear; belts with pendant chains; sandals with loop fastenings; simple ligatures of knots and beads; hip-cloths with frontal apron panels, and the ceremonial bar and anthropomorphic heads as hand accessories) are all found on monuments erected from approximately 300 B.C.-A.D. 250, including Abaj Takalik, Kaminaljuyu, Bilbao, Loltun, Izapa and El Baul. Thus, while it is not known how the Peten absorbed influences, most late Baktun 8 stelae represent a continuum with the Preclassic tradition.

The study of costume supports the idea (Marcus (1976: 33) that Tikal and Uaxactun were provincial capitals in late Baktun 8, influencing the growth of smaller centers in the Peten. Uaxactun and Xultun in the north define a

type of costume based upon scant body dress, using loin-cloths and anthropomorphic heads in the crook of the elbow. Tikal and southern cities (El Zapote, Uolantun, Yaxha) wore hip-cloths over the loincloth, and the ceremonial bar was also used as a hand accessory. Small elements of headgear can be further shown to demonstrate shared motifs among Tikal and southern cities.

Aberrant traits on late Baktun 8 stelae, such as featherwork headdresses, feathered back devices, accessory pouches, falling objects, square shields and short spears, and slip-on shoulderpieces for men and women are now recognized as Mexican articles that closely resemble motifs at Teotihuacan. Tikal seems to have been the focus of Mexican interest in the Peten, and probably accepted a foreign ruler to the throne (Coggins 1975). I have tried to indicate, through references to late monuments, that Teotihuacan dress motifs were to change Maya costume profoundly, but it took some time for the Maya to absorb Mexican ideas fully. The early katuns of Baktun 9 essentially continue the native tradition, coupled with some adaptations to Mexican articles. In order to perceive the importance of Mexican contacts in the Early Classic, it is necessary to examine the Late Classic.

Tikal became the dominant center of the Peten during the first two katuns of Baktun 9 (A.D. 434-474). The

evidence for this assumption is found in the north where monumental figures at Uaxactun and Xultun appear with elements such as hip-cloths and ceremonial bars previously restricted to Tikal and southern centers. Similar costumes are found on two jade plaques with texts commemorating a northern ruler at the site called Rio Azul. They resemble the Leyden Plaque from late Baktun 9 (pl. 12), but the Rio Azul plaques have texts with dates in the first two katuns of Baktun 9. I suspect that Tikal became the principal fashion center of the Peten because of Mexican influence, although this is difficult to prove.

II. The Middle Classic

The growth of regional types of dress outside the Peten begins around 9.2.0.0.0 (A.D. 474) with monuments at Copan and Quirigua in the southeast, followed by centers in the northern and western lowlands after 9.4.0.0.0 (A.D. 513), including Calakmul, Coba, Tulum, Yaxchilan, Lacanha and Piedras Negras. The development of these regions is best described as an esthetic process. Proskouriakoff (1950:113) briefly mentions the use of new forms and archaic revivals as contributing factors. I would further analyze the "factors" into five categories:

a. The Consolidation of Mexican Motifs

Around 9.2.0.0.0 (A.D. 474), several Tikal rulers adopted dress motifs that Proskouriakoff (1950:107) noted

as typical of later Maya sculpture. Some traits were elements preserved from the Early Classic, while others represent adaptations to Mexican motifs. It is at this time, for example, that Tikal rulers began to wear Mexican sandals with ankle guards, elaborate back devices, choker necklaces, shoulderpieces, and turban-mask headgear (pls. 44, 46 and 47). Although some of these traits appear in the first two katuns of Baktun 9, they do not become standard elements until after 9.2.0.0.0 (A.D. 474). The period from 9.2.0.0.0 to 9.4.0.0.0 (A.D. 474-513) should be considered as a time of consolidation, a period in which native and foreign motifs from the Early Classic receive full expression. Later on they were widely imitated by other centers and regions during the Middle Classic from 9.2.0.0.0 to 9.13.0.0.0 (A.D. 474-691).

b. Archaic Revivals

The revival of early traits or sculptural themes constitutes an important theme in the history of Maya costume. Most examples come from the Peten during the Middle Classic. Stela 30 at Tikal, dated 9.13.0.0.0 (A.D. 691) revives the costume on Stela 38 at Naranjo on 9.8.0.0.0 (A.D. 591), and in turn, both monuments have antecedents at Tikal from 9.3.0.0.0 to 9.6.0.0.0 or A.D. 494-553 (pls. 49-56, 69, 71 and 130). The military gatherings, and probably the dress motifs, of Lintels 2, 4 and 5 at

piedras Negras around 9.12.0.0.0 (A.D. 671) stem from a prototype there on Lintel 5 at 9.5.0.0.0 or A.D. 533 (Morley 1938-39:V:Pls. 119c and 126b; Maler 1901:Pls. 31 and 32). Palenque revived an Early Classic manner of wearing the hip-cloth such that it curves inward toward the thighs, as well as the use of beaded overlays for men on stucco figures from the Inscriptions Tomb. These features recall the reign of Stormy Sky at Tikal during the first two katuns of Baktun 9.

c. The Preservation of Early Forms

The persistence of early motifs in the southeast cannot as yet be explained.¹⁵ The earliest sculptures from Copan and Quirigua (9.2.0.0.0 or A.D. 474) indicate that these cities adopted contemporary elements from the reign of Stormy Sky at Tikal. Subsequently, Copan and Quirigua retained these features as the basis of dress in the southeast. Copan has a steady sequence of monuments during the Middle Classic, which reveal an internal process of development, but little change occurs in the use of motifs. Proskouriakoff (1950:115) and later Robert Rands (1968:518) attributed the retention of early traits at Copan to the geographic isolation of the southeast.

¹⁵ I am distinguishing the preservation of early forms from revivals here, because an archaic revival is an occasional motif that recalls a far earlier form. In the southeast, from early times onward, costumes were based upon continuous use of early forms.

Yet, similar motifs were preserved at Caracol and Yaxha in the Peten, precluding isolation as the cause for the persistence of early forms.

d. Elements Borrowed among Circum-Peten Regions

The origin of a particular motif can rarely be traced, but a number of traits seem to have migrated among circum-Peten centers in a counter-clockwise direction. In the Peten, Caracol provides motifs that subsequently appear in the northern lowlands. Stela 4, for example, shows strap leggings, and this monument was erected before 9.12.0.0.0 or A.D. 671 (pl. 86). The same leggings occur in the north at Edzna after 9.12.0.0.0 (pls. 106 and 107). Stela 6 at Caracol includes two features - a necklace with medallions and the trident flint as a hand accessory - at 9.8.10.0.0 or A.D. 602 (pl. 84). The same elements occur at Calakmul and Edzna around 9.9.10.0.0 (A.D. 622) and later (pls. 96-97, 99, 106 and 107). At Coba, the long necklace terminating in a bar ornament after 9.9.0.0.0, A.D. 612 (pls. 88 and 89) has precedent at Caracol on 9.3.10.0.0, A.D. 602 (pl. 83). The fish-nibbling-water-plants headdress at Caracol on Stela 6 (9.8.10.0.0) reappears in the Calakmul area around 9.13.0.0.0 or A.D. 691 (pls. 83 and 99).

Northern traits similarly moved into the western lowlands. The strap leggings of Edzna around 9.12.0.0.0

or A.D. 671 (pls. 106 and 107) are found at Palenque on stucco figures from the Inscriptions Tomb (pls. 113 and 114). These figures were probably carved near the time of the ruler Pacal's death (9.12.11.5.18). The stucco figures also carry God K scepters like those shown at Edzna (pls. 106 and 107). Lastly, their helmets with chin guards and round shields have precedents at both Calakmul and Edzna after 9.9.10.0.0 or A.D. 622 (pls. 95, 99, 106 and 107). On the basis of such examples, there is a perceptible migration, or in other words, a selection of motifs, that traveled counter-clockwise from the southeast into the north, and then into the western lowlands.

e. Simple Motifs from the Minor Arts

The Middle Classic Period corresponds to the development of regional types of dress from 9.2.0.0.0 to 9.13.0.0.0 (A.D. 474-691). I justified the recognition of a "middle" phase by saying that the hiatus did not, as has been traditionally thought, represent a genuine break in the development of Maya art. At the risk of contradicting myself, the hiatus does represent a change in emphasis. The period from approximately 9.4.0.0.0 to 9.8.0.0.0 (A.D. 513-592) marks a turning away from public sculpture in favor of private art. For the first time, burials include clay figurines; paraphernalia such as staffs, litters and thrones of wood and stucco; and in

ceramics there is a keen interest in the human figure (Pendergast 1969; Coggins 1975:I:342-348). The hiatus also provides us with one of few surviving murals from the Classic Period. This scene, found inside a Tzakol 2-3 palace building at Uaxactun (Structure B-XIII) depicts an intimate ceremony among members of the upper class in simple dress. It is almost the kind of narrative theme characteristic of Tepeu vase painting.

If the art of the Early Classic can be described as formal and symbolic, the hiatus period evokes a new mood of intimacy. In the Peten, the hiatus monuments Stelae 23 and 25 at Tikal portray a female ruler with her husband and children (pls. 63 and 64). These sculptures copy the triptych programs of Stormy Sky's reign during the first two katuns of Baktun 9, but the presentation of familial groups had never been attempted before. It is perhaps no accident that the earliest preserved scene of palace life, Structure B-XIII at Uaxactun, is of the same period. Nonetheless, the intimate mood of the hiatus was short lived in the Peten. Subsequent monuments from Tikal, Naranjo and Altar de Sacrificios revive the formal aspects of public dress in the Peten during the Early Classic and early katuns of the Middle Classic (pls. 69 and 71).

The tendency to simplify monumental dress took root in the northern and western lowlands. In the north, the

very earliest stelae indicate that sculptors borrowed motifs from the minor arts. At Tulum, for example, the feminine quexquemiltl on Stela 1 around 9.6.0.0.0 or A.D. 553 (pl. 87) is unlike any found in the Peten. Its peculiar U shape does, however, have parallels on Campeche "Jaina style" figurines, as well as on clay figures of Mexican women from Monte Alban. Similarly, the female huipil worn at Coba and Calakmul after 9.9.0.0.0 or A.D. 612 has no precedents on public monuments in the Peten. The huipil was a private garment in the central zone. It appears only on the interior palace mural scene at Uaxactun. The northern lowlands confused or deliberately ignored the distinction.

The monumental art of the Usumacinta is everywhere invaded by themes that are intimate and private. Most sculptures are not public stelae but lintels and wall tablets placed inside the palaces of the upper class. Early reliefs from this region such as the Bonampak lintel (pl. 101) and Lintel 12 from Piedras Negras, both dated around 9.5.0.0.0 (A.D. 533), have affinities with panel scenes on cylinder tripods from Tikal, Uaxactun and Kaminaljuyu (pls. 40-41, 92 and 100). I am led to conclude that the development of relief sculpture, as well as dress in the western lowlands, was strongly influenced by imported ceramics. Use of private art would account

for the appearance of such casual traits as turban head-gear, single strands of beaded jewelry, hair coiffures, huipilli, bare feet, and compositions that are narrative themes.

III. The Late Classic

The development of regional types ends around 9.12.0.0.0 (A.D. 671). After this date, sculptures erected at most centers can be described as continuing to exhibit costumes established during the Middle Classic. The Usumacinta apparently became a dominant region, since western motifs were adopted by cities in the southeast, central and northern lowlands. It was the popularity of western articles of dress which accounts for the seeming uniformity of costumes on the Late Classic monuments studied by Mary Butler (1931, 1937). After 9.18.0.0.0 (A.D. 789), a similar kind of uniformity is perceptible in the depiction of epiclassic features and non-Classic traits. These late qualities are most noticeable in the northern lowlands and Pasion district of the Peten, where they occur as early as 9.14.0.0.0-9.15.0.0.0 (A.D. 710-730), but ultimately, they can be observed throughout the Maya area.

I separated non-Classic traits, which are possibly Mexican articles, from epiclassic features such as cursive lines, figural distortions and simplifications of

traditional motifs, because there is no evidence that epiclassic features were the result of foreign influence. Nonetheless, epiclassic and non-Classic traits usually occur together. Proskouriakoff (1950:156-157) and other writers (Thompson 1970; J. Graham 1973; Sabloff 1973) have attributed non-Classic elements to Mexican intrusions, although Proskouriakoff (*ibid*) cautioned that they might be local in origin. I am aware of two non-Classic traits (strap leggings and reptilian mask headaddresses) which are found on very late monuments, but in fact occur rather early in the Classic sequence. Strap leggings appear at Caracol and Edzna around 9.12.0.0.0 or A.D. 671 (pls. 86 and 106-107), and subsequently at Seibal on 10.2.0.0.0 or A.D. 868 (Greene et al. 1972:Pl. 101), as well as on the Mexican-Maya murals of Cacaxtla (pls. 251 and 252). Reptilian mask headgear is depicted on Calakmul Stela II, dated 9.13.0.0.0 or A.D. 691 (pl. 92), and later shown at Naranjo and centers in the Pasion after 9.15.0.0.0 or A.D. 730 (pls. 215 and 240-241). In summary, non-Classic may not necessarily mean non-Maya. However, the combination of epiclassic features and non-Classic traits does change the character of Classic Maya dress substantially after 9.18.0.0.0 (A.D. 799). The period from 9.18.0.0.0 to 10.5.0.0.0 (A.D. 799-868) is best considered as introductory to the Postclassic.

I would like to end by briefly reviewing the approaches taken here, because the study includes more than an analysis of regional developments. So little has been written on Maya costume that it was first necessary to examine the vocabulary of Classic dress (Chapter One). This section contained definitions for different articles of dress; probable materials and techniques of construction, based upon the archaeological evidence and knowledge of contemporary practices among Maya and Mexican groups; and lastly, the recognition of public and private forms of dress, distinctions which become apparent after considering the motives and purposes to dress in the history of costume.

The ideas raised in Chapter One could have been expanded. Most site reports, for example, contain some discussion of surviving materials. I used only a few in order to demonstrate that costume elements visible in Maya art were actually worn. More articles of dress could be identified, and all of them properly illustrated in a book. My survey was confined to those typically found on sculptures and architectural reliefs. Finally, in the literature on European costume, some authors (Kohler 1928:216 and 236-37; Boucher 1966:314 and 318) suggest that fashions were changed not by cities or countries, but by important individuals, especially kings, queens, knights and other members of royal courts.

It would be interesting to write a history of Maya costume as a series of changes introduced by such Classic rulers as Curl Nose at Tikal, Pacal of Palenque, Shield Jaguar from Yaxchilan, and at Copan, the man named Yax Macaw (Pahl 1976). I chose a geographic approach, using cities and regions as indicators of change, in an attempt to better understand disparate movements in the development of Classic dress, and ultimately, of Classic Maya art.

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